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THE HISTORY OF HARRISON COUNTY, TEXAS,  
1839 to 1880.

By

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Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College, 1926.

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate  
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Department of History

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This Thesis for the M. A. degree, by

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CONTENTS

<u>Chapter I. The Geographic Basis.</u>	1-17
1. The westward movement .....	1
2. Physical features.....	2
3. Soil and climate.....	5
4. Natural resources.....	9
a. Water.....	9
b. Plant life.....	10
c. Animal life.....	13
d. Minerals.....	13
5. Accessibility to markets.....	15
 <u>Chapter II. Social and Economic Conditions in Early</u>	
<u>Harrison County.....</u>	18-74
1. The pioneer home.....	19
a. The house.....	19
b. The furnishings.....	22
2. The food supply.....	24
3. Clothing.....	27
4. Social intercourse.....	31
a. Social gatherings for utilitarian purposes	31
b. Social gatherings for purely social pur-	
poses.....	36
c. Social life in the home.....	39
5. Early schools.....	45
a. Establishment of primary schools.....	45

b. Marshall University .....	46
c. Education of the negroes.....	55
6. Religious interests.....	57
a. Early churches.....	58
b. Camp meetings.....	59
c. Moral conditions .....	62
7. Prices.....	64
8. Industries and transportation.....	67
a. Farming .....	67
b. Stock raising.....	70
c. Manufacturing.....	73
d. Transportation.....	72

Chapter III Harrison County Up To The Civil War...75-139

1. Historical beginnings.....	75
a. The land laws of Texas.....	75
b. The first white settler.....	78
c. The creation of the county.....	80
d. Where Harrison County settlers came from... .	83
e. Growth in population.....	88
f. The creation of the judicial county of Panola.....	90
g. The city of Marshall.....	92
h. The dispute over the location of the county seat.....	94
1. Harrison County Indians.....	97

2. The birth of justice.....	99
a. The establishment of the Neutral Ground...	100
b. The Moderator-Regulator War.....	102
c. Houston intervenes.....	113
d. The coming of the law.....	113
3. The development of transportation.....	114
a. Early transportation.....	114
b. Early trade centers.....	115
c. Railroads.....	115
4. The press.....	122
a. <u>The Texas Republican</u> .....	122
b. <u>The Star State Patriot</u> .....	123
c. <u>The Harrison County Flag</u> .....	124
d. Other newspapers.....	124
5. Politics in the county before the Civil War..	125
a. The annexation of Texas.....	126
b. The Compromise of 1850.....	126
c. The Santa Fe crisis.....	132
d. Slavery.....	133
e. The election of 1860.....	136

Chapter IV. <u>Secession, The Civil War, and Reconstruction</u> .....	140-216
1. Secession.....	140
a. The reaction to the election of Lincoln...	140
b. The selection of delegates to the State convention.....	144

c. Harrison County votes in favor of secession.....	149
2. The Civil War.....	149
a. The raising of troops.....	150
b. The providing of funds and equipment....	153
c. The end of the War.....	170
d. The effects of the War on Harrison County.....	174
3. Reconstruction.....	181
a. Application of the Johnson plan.....	182
b. Change to the radical plan.....	189
c. The problem of restoring order.....	203
d. The activities of the freedmen.....	209
4. The organization of the Citizen's Party...	215

#### Bibliography

## Chapter I

## THE GEOGRAPHIC BASIS

The westward movement.---To understand the history of Harrison County, it is necessary to know something of the general westward movement of which it was a part. There is a saying that civilization moves westward; history seems to bear this out. Asia and Africa sent their quotas of immigrants to Europe, and Europe in turn sent hers on further west to America. Our ancestors at first settled along the Atlantic seaboard. Then by successive stages, settlers advanced westward until they reached the eastern part of Texas. It was not until 1821 that Texas began to become a part of this movement. Under Mexican rule the region embracing what later became Harrison County was within the twenty league border reserve in which titles to land could not be acquired by foreigners, hence until this restriction was removed through the establishment of Texas independence, the immigration swept by, and the regions to the west were settled by people who had passed on through. But the possibilities of this section were so evident that after 1830 Harrison County received more than its share of settlers with the result that by 1860 most of its desirable land had been occupied.

There were several factors that made this county attractive to the pioneer as a home. In the first place,

while it is true that most of the pioneers who went out to do battle with nature in the opening up of new lands were uneducated from the standpoint of books, yet most of them were shrewd, industrious, and knew what they wanted. If one of them had been asked the difference between Susquehanna clay soil and Orangeburg fine sandy loam, he could not have answered; but he could tell whether or not a soil suited his needs. Thus perhaps the first factor to be considered by the landseeker was the soil. Although he probably did not know the classification of soils, he could, by seeing and feeling the soil, and observing the vegetation growing on it, tell whether it was good or poor. Since there was plenty of land, quite naturally he picked the good land first. Climate was perhaps the second factor that influenced the pioneer in the selection of a home. Other factors were natural resources and accessibility to markets.

Physical features.--Harrison County lies within the short leaf pine area of the northeastern part of the state of Texas. It is located 150 miles from the Gulf coast, between the thirty-second and the thirty-third parallels of north latitude, and between the ninety-fourth and ninety-fifth meridians of west longitude. It is nearly due north of the Sabine River. This county touches upon six other counties, five in Texas, and one in Louisiana. On the north it is bounded by Marion County; on the east, by Caddo Parish, Louisiana; on the

south, by Panola, Rusk and Gregg Counties; and on the west, by Gregg and Upshur Counties. Over one-half of its northern boundary is formed by the Little Cypress Creek, Cypress Bayou, and Caddo Lake; about the same amount of the southern boundary is formed by the Sabine River.

The present area of Harrison County is 872 square miles, or 558,080 acres. Roughly speaking, the county varies in width from nineteen to twenty-eight miles; its length is about thirty-eight miles.<sup>1</sup> The original county of Harrison embraced most of the present county of Panola, and parts of Upshur and Marion. Its area at that time must have been at least fifteen hundred square miles, or larger than the state of Rhode Island. In 1849, after the county of Panola had been cut off in 1842, its area was 1,190 square miles; or 761,600 acres. Of this amount, it was estimated that only about 61,000 acres were unsuited for cultivation.<sup>2</sup>

Harrison County is neither a plain nor a mountainous area. Its surface is not as smooth as that of several counties to the west and not as rough as that of other counties in the extreme west. The United States Department of Agriculture conducted a soil survey of Harrison

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1. United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Survey of Harrison County, p. 5.

2. Texas Republican, May 26, 1849. A newspaper published in Marshall, Texas, 1849-1869.

County in 1913, and assembled its findings in a bulletin entitled Soil Survey of Harrison County. Concerning the topography of this county the report says:

The topography of the upland varies from the slightly rolling to the hilly, the hills being confined to those portions of the county that have gravelly soil. The rougher nature of the area is due to the resistance offered to weathering by the strata of ferruginous sandstones from which occur about four miles northeast of Hallsville, northwest of Eagleton, and a short distance east of Woodlawn. The topography of the northern part of the county is more diversified than that of the southern, and the southeastern part is the smoothest of all. The greater part of the county is rolling. The divides are well defined and comparatively narrow. The drainage basins of the streams are fan-shaped, narrowing as they approach the larger streams, Little Cypress Creek, and Sabine River. The valleys are wide open basins in their upper and middle courses and deeper, with well defined alluvial flood plains, in their lower courses.<sup>3</sup>

There seems to be some contention as to the elevation of the county. Some authorities place the average elevation at about 450 feet.<sup>4</sup> The soil survey, above referred to, says that the elevation varies between 150 and 450 feet, which seems to be more nearly correct, although local people claim that the highest point in the county is 575 feet.<sup>5</sup>

Two rivers eventually receive the drainage of the county. The Red River, forming the northeastern boundary of the state, receives the drainage of the northern and

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3. Soil Survey of Harrison County, p. 6.

4. Texas Almanac, 1925, p. 290.

5. The Marshall News-Messenger, February 2, 1930. A newspaper now being published at Marshall, Texas.

eastern part of the county, which amounts to approximately two-thirds of the total area. This section is drained through Little Cypress Creek, and its chief tributaries, Carey and Bear Creeks to the north, and Moccasin, Lawrence, Ray, and Gray Creeks to the south; Cypress Bayou, which is formed by the junction of Little Cypress and Big Cypress Creeks, and its tributary, Haggerty Creek; and Caddo Lake and its tributary, Harrison Bayou. Quapou and Cross Bayous drain into Cross Lake in Louisiana, and thence into the Red River, while a few streams in the northern end of the county drain into Big Cypress, which flows through Marion County. The remaining third of the county is drained by the Sabine River and its tributaries, from west to east, Hall, Mason, Clark, Hatley, Potter, Eight Mile, and Socagee Creeks. On the average the drainage is adequate, depending upon seasonal conditions.<sup>6</sup>

Soil and climate.—In 1873, The East Texas Immigration Society, which had its headquarters at Elysian Fields in the southeastern part of Harrison County, had the following to say concerning the soils of this county:

Our soil is of three kinds. We have some land of gray sandy character, easy of cultivation which does not last long, owing to its light nature. We have some red sandy land, more or less stiff, which lasts a life time without any manure of any kind. We have a gray land usually clothed with hickory, sumac, oak, and dogwood, which produces fairly well.

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6. Soil Survey of Harrison County, p. 46.

and is well suited to be improved, having a clay subsoil. Our creek and branch bottoms are of two kinds: dark stiff, or light sandy, the <sup>7</sup> darker land being considered the most durable.

A more technical discussion would require mention of the fact that Harrison County occupies a portion of the Gulf Coastal Plain which is made up of unconsolidated sands and clays; that it once formed a part of the ocean floor; and that its soils are due mainly to deposits made from older lands to the north and northwest. According to the United States Geological Survey, deposits in Harrison County are known as the "Sabine formation of the Eocene Age."<sup>8</sup> It might also be stated that the soils of this county may be divided into two divisions: (1) the uplands, or sedimentary, and (2) the low lands, or the alluvial. The sedimentary soils of the upland may be sub-divided into the Susquehanna, the Orangeburg, Norfolk, Ruston, Caddo, and Lufkin series. The alluvial, or the lowland division, may be sub-divided into the Sanders and the Trinity series. The characteristics of the former division are as follows: the Susquehanna series has gray surface soil, red to mottled red, yellow, and gray subsoil; the Orangeburg series, gray surface soil, yellow, sandy clay subsoil; the Ruston series, gray surface soil, buff sandy clay to sandy loam subsoil. The alluvial, or lowland division, has the following characteristics: the Sanders series has a brown to a

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7. Texas Almanac, 1873, p. 98.

8. Soil Survey of Harrison County, p. 16.

nearly black surface soil, mottled brown, yellow, and gray subsoil; the Trinity series, a black to dark brown surface soil, a mottled yellow and gray subsoil.

The different series are further divided into the different loams, clays, and sands. Nearly half of the land of the county, a total of 265,728 acres, is Susquehanna fine sandy loam. The surface soil of this series is from eight to eighteen inches deep. It is loose, porous, and easily cultivated. The largest areas of this series are found near Caddo Lake, in the northeastern end of the county.

Next in importance to the Susquehanna fine sandy loam is the Caddo fine sandy loam. Fifteen and two-tenths per cent of the total area of the county, or 84,992 acres, is of this series. The surface soil of this loam is from six to eight inches in depth. Most of the soil of this series is located in the northeastern part of the county. It is, in all probability, one of the best soils of the county, because of its excellent drainage.

Next from the standpoint of area is the Ruston fine sandy loam. 48,320 acres of the surface soil of Harrison County are of this series. The surface soil of this series is from six to twelve inches deep. It is rather widely distributed throughout the county, but the largest area of it is found in a belt about four miles wide north of the bottom lands of the Sabine River.

The Sanders silt loam is next in importance. There are 39,680 acres with soil of this kind in the county. The surface soil of this series is from ten to twelve inches in depth. It is found rather extensively in the bottoms along the middle and lower courses of Mason, Potter, Hatley, Haggerty, Little Cypress, and a few other creeks in the county. This type is practically level, with the banks of the streams being slightly higher than the remainder.

The above mentioned series account for 78.6 per cent of the soils of the county. The other 21.4 per cent is divided among nineteen other series.

In regard to the climate of Harrison County, the East Texas Immigration Society referred to above, has the following to say:

Our summers are long and somewhat enervating. Yet we have no cases of total prostration from heat. They are tempered by breezes from the Gulf that rise about nine in the morning and continue until about four in the afternoon. Our winters are always mild. The ice in our ponds is never sufficient to bear up the weight of an ordinary man, and in our running water, ice never forms. There is no time in the winter when a man may not labor out doors, except from rain and sleet, which fall more or less in December, January, and February. We never house our cattle, sheep or goats, nor our horses except such as work.

This description seems to be verified by the following:

Situated as it is between the thirty-second

and the thirty-third parallels of latitude, the climate is mild and salubrious. The heat of the summer rarely ever goes above 96 degrees, and the cold of the winters below 20 degrees. Cattle and stock never require any attention here to protect them from the cold winds and storms of the winter; while in the north this is a labor and care for six or eight months of the year.<sup>10</sup>

From the above sources of information, as well as from personal observation, and from information furnished by people now living in the county, the following conclusions are offered. The summers are long and hot, not unusually so, but sometimes rising above 100 degrees. The average length of the growing season is eight months, more than ample for maturing crops, and in some instances time enough for two. The range of temperature is from seven below zero to 108 above, with a mean of 49 degrees in the winter, 66 in the spring, 83 in the summer, and 67 in the fall. The mean for the year is 66 degrees. The temperature rarely ever goes as high as 108, while our oldest men can remember only three times when the temperature has gone below zero, once in 1877, another in the nineties, and last, in January, 1930. All in all, the climate of Harrison County was one to attract the early farmer and stockman.

In the matter of rainfall, also, Harrison County was able to please. The pioneer in search of a home found in Harrison County a climate that suited his needs.

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10. French, American Sketch Book, II, 216.

The rainfall has a range of 36.6 inches in the dryest year to 47.23 inches in the wettest, or an average of 44.43 inches. The rainfall is fairly evenly distributed throughout the year. More of it comes in the three spring months than during any other season, the mean precipitation being slightly above thirteen inches. Winter ranks next, with a precipitation of slightly above twelve inches. Fall and summer come next, each with above ten inches of rainfall. Occasionally there are wet springs that greatly hinder the farmers in their planting; sometimes there are dry summers which cut down the yield. Both of the above are unusual. The East Texas Immigration Society records only two instances of crop failures up to 1873, once in 1859, in which year a failure of corn occurred, and in 1872, when there was a cotton failure. There have been other failures since, but there never has been, so far as it has been possible to ascertain, a total failure in everything--not even a failure in the two principal crops, cotton and corn. This is because the conditions that injure one crop do not as a rule injure the others. For instance, a drouth in the late summer--and this is when it is most likely to come--hurts cotton, but not corn, as corn is matured by that time. Likewise, much rain in the early spring hurts corn, but not cotton, for the latter is not planted at that time.

Natural resources.--Harrison County has always

boasted of its water. There was a current saying in the early days of this county that once a person had gotten a taste of the water from one of the clear, crystal springs in which the county abounds, he would go no further in his search for a home. It is doubtful whether the spring water alone induced any pioneer to settle in the county, but it is likely that the good water which greeted the thirsty traveler as he came into the county must have had its influence in causing him to settle there. The East Texas Immigration Society has the following to say in regard to the water of Harrison County:

Our water is not so cold as that found in the mountainous regions; yet we have good freestone water in the springs and also in the wells. We generally find water by digging from ten to twenty feet. In some few places we find hard lime water, and occasionally water that is too hard and brackish to drink. Yet seven-tenths of our wells are good and suitable to be used in drinking.<sup>11</sup>

In reality, the county is well watered. A description of the drainage has already been given. There are many fine large springs in the county, but not so many as formerly. Several of these springs are mineral, the two most famous of which are the Rosborough Springs and Hynson Springs. Besides these, there are numerous smaller springs bubbling up in all parts of the county. At this time, there is hardly a farm in this area that

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11. Texas Almanac, 1873, p. 99.

does not have one or more springs.

One of the effects of this abundant water supply in the county was the plant life, particularly the timber. The early homeseeker was greatly interested in timber, for by its use he was able to build shelter for his family, his stock, and his crops, and at the same time have all the fuel he needed for heating and cooking purposes. Harrison County was at this early period particularly blessed in this respect, and is, for that matter, still blessed. At this early period, it was one of the best timbered counties in the state.<sup>12</sup> Almost every kind of tree that grows anywhere in the United States, with the exception of the spruce, hemlock, and fir can be found in this county. The uplands of the county, now chiefly cleared up and planted in corn, cotton, peas, and peanuts were once covered with giant pine trees, some of them centuries old. The small creeks were lined with white and burr oak, hickory, cherry, elm, walnut, and maple. Along the courses of the larger streams were found tens of thousands of huge cypress trees, which have since been cut up into millions of feet of lumber and shingles. Other trees found in abundance were the red oak, post oak, sweet gum, black gum, chinquapin, black jack, ash, and willow. The early settlers soon found also that the soil and climate of this county

were peculiarly adapted to the growth of peach, apple and other fruit trees. The East Texas Immigration Society boasts proudly of Harrison County's unsurpassed peaches, apples, figs, and melons. To quote from this article:

"We have not less than ten varieties of figs. Our fig crop has not failed in twenty years. Our apple crop rarely fails. Several varieties of grapes do well, while we have four varieties growing wild, two of which are elegant."<sup>13</sup>

They had been transported from the east, and the fact that they were producing fruit in a few years served as evidence that Harrison County could be developed into a great fruit growing district. However, even the earliest of these pioneers found such wild fruit as the muscadine, plum, persimmon, blackhaw, and grapes. The same was true of black berries, dew berries, and whortle berries. These important sources of food certainly were not to be overlooked in searching for a home.

Native grasses grew everywhere, if not crowded out by the trees.<sup>14</sup> One type of land, found in this county, known as the meadow, is not suitable for cultivation, due to its being subject to overflow. However, it produces excellent grass, which is used both for pasture and for hay.

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13. Texas Almanac, 1873, p. 99.

14. Soil Survey of Harrison County, p. 46.

Aside from the wild fruits and vegetables that grew in profusion during the pioneer stage of the history of this county, there was another life that must have been attractive to the pioneer. This was wild game. Wild game was abundant in Harrison County at this stage. Deer, turkey, duck, opossum, raccoon, minks, and even an occasional bear were a part of the wild life of this county.<sup>15</sup> In the early days, most of the above animals and fowls could be used by the early settler for food, while others were caught, or killed for their fur. Streams and lakes were full of fish. Cat fish, trout, bass, white, black, and yellow perch as well as many other kind of fish could be had for the taking.

With game of all kind at his very door and wild fruits and vegetables of many kinds growing in abundance only a few steps from his home, it is not likely that the early pioneer suffered for the lack of food, even during his first "lean winter." There is no record of there ever having been a "starving time" in Harrison County; nor can any person now living remember when food was not plentiful.

On the other hand, the county has never been noted for its minerals. The two outstanding minerals in this county are lignite and natural gas. Rather extensive

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15. Most of the information contained in this thesis concerning pioneer conditions was furnished by Mr. and Mrs. Ben Hope, Hallsville, Texas. These people settled in the Fort Crawford settlement in 1849.

beds of lignite are found near Caddo Lake and on Sabine River. A huge million dollar plant is in operation at Marshall at this time which manufactures a product called "Darco", from lignite. This product is nationally known and is used for clarifying, ~~X~~ deodorizing, decolorizing oils, fats, waxes, alcohols, chemicals, sugars, syrups, and solvents. Rather extensive gas fields are found at Waskom and Elysian Fields, both in the southeastern part of the county. Practically all of the towns and villages of this county cook and heat with this fuel. Clay is another important mineral. There are several brick plants and potteries now operating. Rather extensive deposits of iron are also found. Other minerals of less importance are pearls, sometimes found in Caddo Lake, sand and gravel, of which there is a great supply, silica, and mineral water. Two health resorts in the county have achieved periods of prosperity due to mineral waters, Hynson Springs, now abandoned, and Rosborough Springs, still in a rather flourishing condition.

Accessibility to markets. --By no means the factor least considered in determining the settlement of a region is its accessibility to markets. Our history is full of the fights made by the West for a way to get its products to market. This section at times resorted to the threat of secession unless a way to markets was provided by the federal government. Not

the least factor in our acquisition of Louisiana was the desire of the West to open the Mississippi River at its mouth so that its products could pass safely through to market. The West always clamored for aid in the building of roads, canals, and railroads, and when the federal government was slow at responding, this region built them itself. That the pioneer of Harrison County was keenly alive as to the need of markets is indicated by the following article:

The county of Harrison contains eleven hundred and ninety square miles, or 761,600 acres of land. Of this amount we will set apart 61,600 as unfit for tillage. The amount of 700,000 acres will then be left for cultivation of good, medium quality. In 1847, the amount of cotton shipped from this county was 13,029 bales. The census for that year shows the population to have been 6,893. At that time, about one-tenth part of the county was settled, and one-twelfth of the territory in cultivation, allowing sufficient woodland for all necessary purposes. These propositions afford us a basis for ascertaining, by calculation, the probable population and resources of the county when it shall have become fully settled, and its agricultural interests fairly developed. It is capable of containing 68,930 inhabitants, and of exporting 156,348 bales of cotton, the proceeds of which will amount to the sum of \$3,517,830 annually, at 5 cents per pound, supposing the average to be 450 pounds per bale. With this prospect before us, and the facility of navigation on either side, we are not at all surprised that some of our enterprising citizens should already entertain a notion of propriety in commencing the work of improvement. We have navigation four months in the year. For the sum of this \$10,000 we can have it at all times. Would this not be desirable? Can our planters not spare \$10,000? It is only the one-fortieth part of what they now produce in

one year. It will return to their pockets again shortly in the way of cheap freights, convenience, and facility. We think it is time to look seriously into this matter-- we mean the improvement of the lake. This done, we may properly consider the propriety of constructing a railroad from the lake to some convenient and healthy point--say Marshall.<sup>16</sup>

There were three main distributing centers for Harrison County. Goods were brought up the Red River to Shreveport, Port Caddo, on Caddo Lake, or up Cypress Bayou to Jefferson, then the head of navigation.

Shreveport is about forty-two miles from Marshall; Port Caddo was twenty-one miles; and Jefferson is fourteen miles. From these places goods were freighted by the ox wagon, or by some other rather primitive means, to Marshall. The above ports, especially Shreveport and Jefferson, served as distributing centers for other places after they were established, further west. Fort Worth, Dallas and other central Texas cities freighted their goods from these points. One wonders if Jefferson, instead of now "being a city of forty thousand dead and two thousand living" would not have been the Dallas or Fort Worth of Texas had not the railroad taken the place of the steamboat. A more lengthy discussion of transportation will be given in a later chapter.

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16. The Texas Republican, May 26, 1849.

## Chapter II

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN EARLY HARRISON COUNTY.

If a resident of Harrison County at the present time would picture the county during the earlier part of its history, he must close his eyes and think in terms of long ago. He must not think of Harrison County in terms of its cities and towns with their well built and beautiful houses; he must not think of the wonderful highways that wend their way in every direction from all of the main trade centers; he must not think of the great power lines and gas lines that furnish light and heat for the thousands of households of the country; he must not think of the numerous schools and churches dotted here and there at convenient locations all over the country; nor may he think in terms of the prize winning corn, cotton, peanuts, cattle and other live stock, nor of its great manufacturing plants.

He must think of a beautifully timbered country with frontier cabin here and there in the midst of a small clearing; of a country where the roads were mere trails, beaten out originally by Indians, or by animals on their way to food or water; of a country whose homes were lighted by tallow candles, or in true Abraham Lincoln style, by pine knots; of homes where cook stoves were unknown and where the old-fashioned fire place was used both for cooking and for heating; of a country

where the houses were built of logs, "snaked" from the surrounding woods by means of an oxen, or, perhaps of a horse; of a country where the spinning wheel played an important part in its development; of a country where schools and churches were the exception rather than the rule; of a country where agricultural methods were crude, the live stock of an inferior grade, and where there was little manufacturing, save that done in the home. In short, Harrison County was at the time of its earlier history, a county of great distances, made so equally by the crude methods of travel and by the poor excuse for roads; it was a country of Indians; a country of slaves.

The pioneer home.--In the earlier period of the history of this county all of the houses were of logs. This was natural, as there were no saw mills, and the hillsides were all covered with timber waiting for just such use. The trees were first felled and then, after being trimmed up, were dragged by means of an oxen or horse to the place where the house was to be built. There were few skilled carpenters; so each man built his own house with such help as he might get from his neighbors. Since he had few tools besides the ax, the house was necessarily crude. The pioneer was not interested in building a fine home at this time. He realized that conditions made this impossible, so he tried to build a home that would keep out the cold of the winter and

be fairly comfortable in the summer. In this he did not always succeed.

The art of building log houses has been lost in this county. The process was a rather interesting one. The logs, after being dragged up, were flattened somewhat on two sides by means of an ax and notched at each end. They were then placed one upon the other, the notched ends holding them in place. Mud was then placed between the logs to prevent wind and rain from coming into the house through the crevasses. There was no ceiling, and quite often there was no floor save the ground. The roof was of split boards made from the trees of the forest. Even today, one may see in this county a few houses covered with boards. There were no glass windows. The windows, if there were any, were made by cutting holes in the walls and making a frame in which was inserted one or more wide boards which could be slid over the opening from the inside when the occupant desired to close the window, and back when he desired to open it. The window worked horizontally instead of perpendicularly. According to present day standards, it had certain disadvantages--when it was closed all ventilation and light were shut out. The latter was the worse of the two, as the huge chimney and the rather numerous crevasses between the logs usually let in enough air to take fairly good care of the ventilation problem. The floors, if there were

any, were of split logs, hewn down to approximately the correct thickness. It is needless to say that there was a multiplicity of splinters in the feet of the children who ran barefooted over these floors. Nor were the elders always exempt, for when they retired at night, it was the custom to take off the shoes while sitting around the fireside so as to warm the feet in preparation for bed. These shoes were arranged in a more or less orderly circle about the fireplace, the position of each pair depending on where its owner was sitting when he removed his shoes. This being a day when bed room slippers were unknown, the journey from the fireside to the bed was made unshod over the cold and none too smooth board floor. It quite frequently happened that protruding splinters found their resting place in the foot of some unfortunate. "Old timers" can remember when "splinter pulling" formed a part of the daily occupation of the pioneer father and mother. Many times splinters could not be taken out so easily, but had to be dug out with a pen knife.

Perhaps the most appreciated feature about the house of a pioneer was the huge chimney that occupied nearly the whole of one end of a room. In those days a chimney three feet wide would have been considered small, and its owner shiftless and neglectful of the comfort and convenience of his family. This chimney was built of stones and mud, the former of which could be found in great

quantities near the house, while the latter could be made in a few minutes by mixing water with dirt. The stones were then placed, one upon the other with mud between them to hold them in position. A few feet above the fire place the chimney was tapered until it was much narrower at the top than at the base. This was to lessen the weight on its lower part. The chimney in those days was really considered as a piece of furniture. It was used both for heating and cooking purposes. In the latter capacity, it served in lieu of the cook stove, or the range which did not exist in the frontier cabin. Most of the cooking was, of course, done before the family gathered about the fire side. The three chief cooking vessels, and quite often the only ones, were the pot, kettle, and the oven. All were likely to be rather large as the frontier family was by no means a small one. The pot was used for cooking meats and vegetables; the kettle for heating water, and for other similar purposes; and the oven for baking the bread. The first two were hung on hooks over the fire; the oven was usually put on that part of the hearth nearest the fire, and coals of fire and ashes were raked over and under it. In this manner bread and other foods that needed to be baked were prepared.

Every household had a few chairs, but not necessarily enough for the whole family. Quite often the younger

members of the family had to sit on boxes, the floor, or on their parent's laps. One of these chairs was usually a rocker, and a little more comfortable than the others. This always sat in a corner of the fire place and no one ever used it except "Grand Ma" or "Grand Pa". If both were living, there were usually two rockers. The other chairs were what are called today "straight-backed" chairs and were none too comfortable. All of the chairs, whether rockers or the other kind, were made at home. The skins of animals were used for the seat, or occasionally, the bark of some tree was peeled off and platted so as to form a chair bottom. In addition to chairs, there was usually a combination table, used as a cook table, dining table, library table, and as a place of deposit for all kinds of loose articles. Such a luxury as a mirror was not always found in the pioneer home. Often the means of looking at one's self was in a bucket of clear water. However, the ordinary household had some kind of mirror, the size depending upon the prosperity of the family. There was always one bedstead, and sometimes only one; but usually there was a sufficient number to accomodate the whole family if the members were not too particular as to how many slept together. Ordinarily, there were only two, thus necessitating, in view of the size of the usual family, a rather congested condition when all were in bed. Nearly every family had, as its prized

possession, at least one feather bed<sup>1</sup> made from the feathers picked from a flock of geese or ducks. This or another, if acquired in time, became the chief wedding present of the first child to be married. As each member of the family was married, if the marriages did not happen at too frequent an interval, there was always a feather bed to be given as a wedding present. The other beds of the household were made of shucks, or less often of cotton. Both were uncomfortable, especially the former, which made so much noise when its occupant moved that the others in the room were often awakened. All slept in the same room for there was no other, save the kitchen which was usually several feet from the main house.

Among the other articles of importance in the pioneer household were the ever-present rifle or shot gun, a wooden water bucket, a wash pan of some description, a huge pot in which the clothes were boiled on wash day, one or two wooden tubs, a comb, a pair of pot hooks, a fire poker, a candle mould, a bullet mould, and occasionally one or two books.

The food supply.—As was stated above, there was never a starving time in the history of Harrison County. Never was there a time when a Captain John Smith was forced to say to a settler "He that does not work, shall

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1. Harrison County Probate Records, Court House, Marshall, Texas.

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not eat". This was true for two reasons. In the first place, the pioneer of this county, as well as of other regions, came with a realization that to conquer the wilderness in which he had settled he must work. He knew this before he left home and so, as a rule, only industrious people undertook the task. It is true that luxuries had no place in such a setting and that food, raiment, and shelter were the prime prerequisites to a successful experiment in the wilderness where he had settled. Aside from being industrious, the pioneer found a land in which it was easy to make a living. The climate was adapted to the raising of nearly all kinds of food crops. Corn, wheat, barley, rye, syrup, both sorghum and sugar cane, fruits of nearly all kinds, except the tropical, and many kinds of vegetables were available as a part of the menu of the pioneer of this county. Aside from this, beef and mutton could be provided with ease. Then there was a profusion of wild berries and nuts growing in the woods. Likewise, the woods were full of part-ridges, squirrels, rabbits, deer, and occasionally a bear was found. To go hungry, when all one had to do was to go out and pluck from nature's ample store, would have been criminal negligence. However, the impression must not be left that there was always such a variety of food as has been named. Plants grow only in season, some mature at one time, and some another. The same is true of animals, for at certain seasons of the year they

are not fit for eating purposes. However, the thrifty housewife was usually able to take care of this by drying beef venison and fruit when they were plentiful, and storing them for use in seasons when they were not so plentiful. Pork was cured by salting it down in a huge meat box.

There was always cornbread, quite often made up with water, for the cows of that day were far from being developed to the stage of the prize herds of the county today. Syrup was always on the table, although it was usually sorghum syrup, since sugar cane had not yet become common. After being stripped of its fodder, the sorghum cane was run between two huge wooden rollers which crushed out the juice, which was then put into a copper pan and cooked until it became syrup. The rollers were turned by having an oxen or a mule hitched to a beam which was so fixed as to turn the wheels toward each other as the animal moved around in a circle.

In addition to cornbread and sorghum syrup, there was usually a plentiful supply of bacon. Hogs could be raised cheaply, because the thousands of oak trees growing near the pioneer cabin furnished acorns in the fall. The animals ran wild in the woods until the end of the acorn season, early in November. They were then rounded up, each owner recognizing his hogs by a mark of identification which had been cut in their ears. There was, also, nearly always a plentiful supply of peas and beans

for all seasons of the year. During the season in which these vegetables matured, they were eaten green; but the housewife was responsible for seeing that a store of dried beans and peas was provided for use in the winter months. Sweet potatoes completed the list of the chief articles of food.

It is evident that there was enough food at all times to keep the early settler and his family in health. It must be remembered, however, that not all of these foods were available at all times. The pioneer was making an experiment and the amount and variety of his food supply could be increased only as he learned the possibilities of this new country in which he had settled, and as he improved his methods of culture. Such commodities as coffee and sugar were scarce, and although it was possible to raise wheat in the country, little attention was given to it with the result, therefore, that flour bread was at this time on the list of luxuries. Perhaps once a day there was milk and butter, while eggs were eaten only on rare occasions.

Clothing.--Just as the food of the early settler was simple and produced on the farm itself, or in the woods, so was his clothing simple and home made. As has been mentioned, no household was complete without the spinning wheel. In searching through the Harrison County Estate Records it was found that, almost without an exception, one of the dispositions mentioned in wills

221 P-227-1  
BOULDER, COLORADO

was this useful article. These spinning wheels were valued at sums varying from one dollar to ten, depending, probably, upon the skill of the one making the article and the material of which it was made. Practically all of the clothes worn by the early settlers of this county were homespun. One of the most important of the many duties of the mother was that of seeing that the family always had a supply of clothes on hand. In this task she had the help of the oldest girls. The usual time for doing this work was in the long winter evenings after the evening meal. When the pots, pans, and dishes had been washed, and the table cleaned up, the mother would pull out her spinning wheel or her loom. Neighbors or strangers when knocking upon the door of a pioneer cabin would be greeted with the hum of the spinning wheel or the whir of the loom. Nor did this work stop because there was a caller. It must go on, for the mother of a large family was always behind in this task. After the thread had been spun and the cloth woven, it was cut out and sewed by hand. There was no sewing machine in the county before 1850. Both woolen and cotton garments were thus made. Some of these old spinning wheels are still in existence and a few are still used occasionally.<sup>2</sup> The ordinary person could make five

2. Most of the above information came from Mrs. Ben Hope, one of the few remaining pioneer housewives of the county. She still spins the thread for her husband's socks. The machine was brought out and a demonstration given during their interview. Mrs. Hope lives in the old Fort Crawford settlement, near Hallsville.

or six yards of cloth a day.

Only once in a great while was a member of the family allowed "store bought" clothes. This rarely happened before a child was sixteen years of age, and even then such clothes were used only on special occasions. It is generally a revelation to this modern generation to be told that many of the dresses of that day were considered pretty. The current opinion seems to be that all dresses were of the same dull gray color. This was far from the truth. The pioneer girl had her dresses in colors just as the modern girl does. Almost all of the colors and shades used in modern dressmaking could be produced by the pioneer housewife. Of course, this all required a certain amount of knowledge and skill, and then, just as today, some mothers knew how to dress their daughters better than others. The colors were obtained from the bark of trees, berries, and from indigo plants raised for that purpose.

The clothes of the men, like those of the women, were generally made by the mother on the spinning wheel and the loom. It was not unusual to see a man dressed in buckskins, especially if he led a rough life in the open. Shoes, as well as dresses, shirts, coats and other articles were also made at home. The hide of a cow that had died or had been killed for beef was always saved for this purpose. After being taken off the animal, it was hung up in the barn to dry. An oak tree was then

cut down, hollowed out, and made into a vat, which was buried in the ground. The dried skin was then put into this vat, and covered with ashes. A sufficient amount of water to fill the remaining space was added and the vat closed. By this process the hair was removed, and the next step was to dye the leather. For this purpose another vat was built in the shape of a wagon bed and placed in a specially prepared hole in the ground. The dyeing agent was bark from a red oak tree, taken off while the sap was "up." A skin was placed in the vat with a layer of bark on it, then another skin and another layer of bark, and so on until the vat was almost full. Water was then poured in and the vat closed. The hides were allowed to stay in this condition for several days. When they were finally taken out, they were ready to be made into shoes. This part of shoemaking was usually done by someone in the neighborhood who was especially talented at that work. Just such a person was "Uncle" Lot Hays, one of the first settlers in the old Fort Crawford settlement. Sometimes "Uncle" Lot was paid a small sum of money for making the shoes, but more often he did this for his neighbors in return for corn, peas, eggs, milk, butter, or some other farm produce, or in an exchange of labor. Shoes made from leather thus prepared were not ornamental and were rather uncomfortable, for the leather was stiff, but they did not appear out of place in those days for nearly everything was

crude. Although they creaked at every step, it is doubtful whether the pioneer lad would have worn a pair of shoes that did not announce his approach.

Social intercourse.--One unacquainted with pioneer conditions is apt to feel that the early settler lived a sordid existence; that his life was a mere grind from the beginning to the end. It is true that there was always plenty of work to do--too much in fact for the health of the pioneer and his family. Yet he usually found some time for recreation. Quite often work and recreation were combined, as in the case of quilting bees, husking bees, and log rollings. On the other hand, such social gatherings as singings and dancing were planned solely for the purpose of satisfying the desire to get together.

The quilting bee was an ordinary occurrence in the pioneer community. The purpose, of course, was two-fold, utilitarian and social. The pioneer mother, together with her daughters, could do the necessary quilting for the family at her odd moments, but in doing it this way she would have been deprived of the company of her sex while it was being done. She, therefore, adopted the plan of inviting a number of her nearest neighbors to a quilting bee. The ladies invited always came. In fact, they would have felt slighted had they not been invited. Soon work on the quilts was in full swing. Gossip was then in order. At twelve

o'clock, the housewife, who had made preparations the day before, called them to a good dinner, the best the neighborhood afforded. It was on such occasions that the "extras" were served. Even cakes, pies, fried chicken and other such delicacies were unstintedly served. The women present judged the housewife by the kind of food she set before them, and how well it was prepared. If it was poor, or if it was too good, she would be criticized by other housewives who were proud of their own culinary art. After the kitchen was cleaned up, the quilting went on again and did not halt until either all of the quilts were finished, or the approach of dark drove the visitors home. Some few days later, the same thing would be repeated only at some one else's house this time.

For the men, there were husking bees and log rollings. The former was not resorted to greatly in Harrison County, due to the fact that farmers found it was best to leave the shuck on the corn as a protection against both rodents and the weather. However, husking bees were not unusual. These usually took place on some rainy day on which little else could be done. The farmer invited a number of his neighbors to his home on a certain day and all retired to the barn where corn husking contests became the order of the day. This spirit of rivalry made the task more play than work. Professional corn huskers were developed in a neighbor-

hood who were quite as proud of their prowess as Jack Dempsey was when he was the holder of the world's heavyweight boxing crown. Quite often a champion from some other community was invited to compete with the local champion. Bets were frequent in such cases. It happened, therefore, that the owner of the corn was able to get it shucked in one day's time. The shucks were put in a separate compartment of the barn and later fed to the cows.

Not always were the corn husking bees limited to the masculine sex. Sometimes, the young ladies of the neighborhood were invited. It is said that on one such an occasion the old saying "sweet sixteen and never been kissed" originated.<sup>3</sup> Most of the corn shucked was white or yellow, but once in a great while a red one would be found. If the person shucking the red one happened to be a young lady, her sweetheart, if present, had the right to kiss her. When a girl had arrived at the age of sixteen and had never shucked a red ear of corn, she was said to be "sweet sixteen and never been kissed." After a day of husking, supper was served to the huskers and other members of different families, who had by this time collected at the house. After supper, the close of the day was celebrated by a dance.

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3. Students of Marshall High School. Sketches Drawn from Marshall and Vicinity, p. 15.

Log rollings, another labor in which work and play were combined, was perhaps more frequently resorted to than the husking bee. This was a yearly affair for each farm. Not everyone understands how land was cleared up in those days. For that reason an explanation is necessary. Not all of the trees were cut down, usually only the brush and smaller ones together with a few of the larger ones were cleared out. The others were "deadened". That is, a ring was cut around the tree with an ax about two feet from the ground, so that when the sap came up from the roots, which took place in the spring, it could not get by the cut and consequently the tree died for lack of food. Some of these trees would stand for as many as ten or fifteen years, but each year a few would be blown over, with the result that the logs had to be removed before the land could be prepared for a crop. This was quite a task, and not easily done by one man and his family of boys. Hence, the origin of log rollings. The operation consisted of placing a stout stake made from an oak or hickory limb under a log, and rolling it to the desired place, where it was burned, together with a number of others. At other times the logs were cut up into sections several feet long and carried on stakes by four or more men to these piles. Frequently, these logs were so heavy that a great deal of skill as well as strength were required to perform the necessary operation. As in corn husking,

log rolling champions for each neighborhood were developed. Quite often the champion log roller, noted for his strength and dexterity, if unmarried, was the most popular boy in the neighborhood among the fairer sex. There was the same spirit of rivalry, the same chances for good sportsmanship in these amusements as in modern sports. But the main reason why the pioneer and his family enjoyed the log rollings, husking bees, and quilting bees was because of the sociability attached, and there can be no doubt that it helped to remove a great deal of the sordidness of their life, when there was little else to do, and when the opportunities for getting together were comparatively small.

Both boys and men got a great deal of sport out of squirrel shooting, opossum hunting, raccoon hunting, deer hunting, fishing, and other forms of outdoor sports. Such amusements as these usually occurred on days when there was little else to do, or on days when it was impossible to work. One favorite sport was fire hunting, in which lighted pine faggots were used to "shine the eyes" of the animals sought. In this way the animals could be located in the thickest brush or trees. The deer was the usual objective, but often the opossum, raccoon, and other animals were hunted in this way.

Harrison County with its many streams and lakes, must have been a fisherman's paradise. Only a few minutes were needed to catch enough fish for the whole

family. Aside from being great sports, hunting and fishing were a means of replenishing the pioneer's larder.

Of those social gatherings which were planned to satisfy the desire to get together, the holding of all day singings was perhaps the most popular. Such an occasion usually took place on some special day, as Fourth of July. Early on the morning of the celebration, one could see people on all of the roads leading to the picnic grounds. Poor roads and slow means of communication made an early start imperative, yet the eagerness of both old and young acted as a spur. After a fair-sized crowd had gathered, a call was issued for the singers to begin the day's program. Those who did not take part in the singing might be seen either in one large group standing around the singers, or in smaller groups nearby, renewing contact with friends. The young unmarried people could not be found in the crowd, but couples might be seen here and there, some on logs, some in wagons, and some behind the friendly trunks of trees. This was a great occasion for the boy and girl sweetheart. It was where they had their best opportunity "to court".

Just before noon, men might be seen coming from their wagons carrying trunks, boxes, and baskets. This meant that dinner was about to be served. Upon the arrival of the "dinner baskets", the mothers took charge and spread the food upon table cloths placed on the green grass. The

singing stopped, a prayer of Thanksgiving was offered, and the people began to eat. Knives, forks, and plates were not used on such occasions; people ate in primitive style with their fingers. Here, again, the culinary art of the housewife passed in review. Every woman tried to excel every other one as to quantity, variety, and preparation of food. No one ever went away hungry.

Without a doubt, the favorite means of entertainment for the young set was the neighborhood dance. Nor was the enjoyment of dances limited to the younger set. Young married people, and sometimes, even old people, delighted in dancing. People gathered from miles around on such occasions. No invitation was considered necessary. The invitation was usually worded thus: "Every body invited". The dance lasted all night. One old gentlemen in relating his experiences said that he once left home in mid-afternoon to go to a dance fifteen miles distant, and got back the next morning as the sun rose.<sup>4</sup> As one approached the house in which a dance was in full swing, the tones of the squeaky fiddle grew louder, and the rhythmic swing and beat of heavily shod feet upon the rough board floor, accompanied at intervals by the shrill cry of the "caller" and the half savage and half pathetic sing-song of the dancers might be heard. On coming nearer, all this be-

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4. Ben Hope, reminiscences.

came more distinct, and through the open doors and windows of the cabin could be seen the swaying couples. On going inside, the flushed and perspiring faces of the dancers could be seen. Occasionally, there was disorder. This usually occurred when some boy danced too many times with the girl brought by another, or else sat out the dance with her in some dark corner of the cabin. In such instances fist fights were not unusual. Once in a while men of questionable character came to the dance with the object of breaking it up. This usually ended in a fight, resulting in a number of bruised and battered faces. Ordinarily, such people came from outside the community and were drunk.

The dances usually started about nine o'clock and lasted until the dancers were tired. About mid-night, or earlier, the older people, went home, leaving the floor to the young folks. Some of these almost always danced until dawn.

The wedding made the occasion for another type of social gathering. It is not meant here that the solemnity of the occasion was diminished in the least, but people in those days enjoyed solemnity. After a time, however, solemnity gave way to mirth, and everyone thoroughly enjoyed the affair. People came from miles around, nor was it necessary to wait for an invitation. After the ceremony, a wedding feast was usually served. Dancing was then in order until midnight, or after. Strong

drink often flowed freely, the women indulging as well as the men, but rarely ever to intemperance.

The spirit of hospitality toward all members of the community as in connection with the social gatherings was also extended to the stranger. In truth, the latch string did hang on the outside of the door, and no weary traveler was ever turned away. He was invited in and given the best the household afforded. The best chair, the best food, and the best bed were at his disposal, and he was constantly admonished to "make himself at home." However, the traveler repaid his host by telling him news of the outside world.

Although the above description might convey the impression that about all the pioneer did was to amuse himself, this was far from true. His lot was a hard one. There was a great deal more of toil than of amusement. Amusement was usually allowed only when all pressing work had been done. Often the pioneer boy was induced to work harder during the week in order that he might get some task finished so that he might take time off for a bit of amusement.

Sunday, in the busy part of the year, was the only day of rest, and generally it was used only for that purpose. There was no work by the pioneer family on this day. In fact, in a great many households, meals were prepared on the previous day, so that there was no cooking on the Sabbath. The day was usually spent at

home, or at church, if there happened to be any services in the neighborhood. Occasionally, the whole family would go to a neighbor's house and spend the day. In the afternoon, the young people often congregated at the home of one of the members of their set, or else the boys "went calling" on their respective sweethearts.

The members of a pioneer household had little time for social intercourse with each other. Both men and women worked hard all day and retired early at night. The pioneer was up before daylight and in the field before the sun rose; he worked all day with the exception of a few minutes at noon, until dark drove him to the house. Of course, during the winter months he was not so rushed and the family had time to discuss about the fireside such topics as interested them. The setting was an interesting one. At one corner of the fireplace, the warmest place in the room, the grandmother or grandfather sat; the father and children arranged themselves in a semi-circle about the fire; the mother usually sat back of this circle at the inevitable spinning wheel, occasionally joining in the conversation. Neither the grandfather nor the grandmother took any active part in the conversation. These old people usually sat in their respective corners, puffing their pipes, or chewing tobacco and dipping snuff, only occasionally joining in the conversation going on around them.

The mother was perhaps the most overworked member of the family. It was she who was responsible for the cooking of the meals for a large family; for washing the clothes; for keeping the house scrubbed and swept; for spinning, weaving, and making the clothes, and for keeping them mended after they were made; and for milking the cows. If she had any spare time after doing all of this, she was permitted to take her place beside the men in the field. It is true that she had the help of the oldest daughters, and that alone made it possible for her to finish the necessary work. She also had to draw the water for use in the kitchen from a well perhaps fifty feet in depth, if the family had a well. Otherwise, she had to carry the water from a spring which might be a quarter of a mile or more from the house. It was the mother, who, after the supper dishes were cleared away, took her place at the spinning wheel or the loom and worked until the late hours of the night, while the other members of the family talked and later slept. It was she who bore the children. It is small wonder that the pioneer mother wore out and died when she was comparatively young. A visit to the cemetery reveals the pathos of the pioneer mother. In almost every instance, the father outlived the mother, in some instances by many years, and was remarried twice or even three or more times. Perhaps too little stress has been placed on the pioneer mother, and if possible, too much upon

the pioneer father.

It was the duty of one of the boys to build the fire in the mornings. On cold winter mornings, it was not always an easy task to get one of the youngsters up. The father would usually call one of them and then go back to sleep confident that the fire would be built, only to be awakened a few minutes later by an argument between two of the boys as to whose turn it was to build the fire. A scuffle usually ensued, which brought the father to the bedside with a piece of rawhide reserved for such occasions. Little time was then lost and the fire was speedily built. After the room became warm, the mother would get up and began the preparation of the morning meal. Next the father and the oldest children arose. The former, with the oldest boys, would then go outside, where the early morning tasks were divided amongst them. The oldest daughters would help the mother in the kitchen.

In the pioneer home, the father's word was law. Few children ever dared to "sass" or disobey their parents. The ever-present rawhide was constant reminder of what they would get under such circumstances. These pioneer children were taught a lesson in obedience which they never forgot, and which they passed on to their own children.

This description of the pioneer home applies only to the home with few or no slaves. Life on the great

plantations was so different from that on the smaller farms that its special characteristics also require consideration. Whereas, on the latter all work had to be done by the farmer and his family, and there was little time for leisure, or for developing the finer sides of life, on the former, all work was done by the negro slave. This gave the plantation owner and his family a leisure that the small farmer could not have. Consequently, their home life was more ideal; their sons and daughters were better educated, and possibly more refined, and the owner himself was enabled to take a prominent part in local and national politics.<sup>5</sup>

On most of the plantations, the slave cabins were arranged in a hollow square, the overseer's house forming the front of the square. It was in the space between the cabins that all important occasions, such as weddings, Christmas, and other events in the life of the slave were celebrated.<sup>6</sup> On the whole the lot of a slave was a happy one. He simply knew nothing different; hence, he expected nothing else. In general, he was well treated, well fed, and well cared for, and was attached to his master. It was a matter of economy, if for no other reason, for the slave owner to take care of so

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5. A study of the names of Harrison County men of this period prominent in local, state, and national politics, reveals few who were not large slave owners.

6. Burba, Alma, "A History of The Scott Plantation," Marshall News-Messenger, July 21, 1929.

valuable a piece of property. Of course, there were exceptions. However, such was rarely the case among the large slave owners, but was more likely to be true of the owner who possessed only a few slaves.<sup>7</sup> The slaves were rarely overworked in Harrison County. It is hardly possible that they could have been. In 1850, there were over 6,000 negro slaves in the county,<sup>8</sup> and yet they produced, together with the small farmer, only a little over 4,000 bales of cotton, and other commodities in proportion. There were at that time only 56,000 acres of improved land in the county<sup>9</sup> to be worked by these slaves and possibly not all of this was under cultivation. Of course, by 1860, a great deal more land was in cultivation, and a great deal more produced; but at the same time, there was a corresponding increase in both the slave and the white population. When the prices paid for slaves are taken into consideration, it seems unlikely that slavery ever paid any great profits in the county. From nineteen to thirty were usually the ages at which slaves could best be sold. Men sold at a slightly higher price than women. The price of slaves increased as the county developed. For instances, a male slave at the age of twenty-three brought, in 1843,

7. Correspondence with H. B. Pemberton.

8. Statistics of the United States, 1850, p. 503.

9. Idem.

10. In 1860 there were 8,784 slaves in the county.  
Eighth Census of the United States Population, p. 481.

around \$650; while a negro woman at the same age brought about \$600. By 1860, a negro man or woman at the same age would bring from \$100<sup>0</sup> to \$1,500.<sup>11</sup>

Early schools.—It was not until about 1840 that schools began to come into existence in Harrison County. None of these early schools were public. One of the first rural schools in the western part of the county was established sometime in the later forties or the early fifties on the same spot as old Fort Crawford, a fort which had been used as long as Indians were in the region. The building which housed the school was a one room structure built of logs, and was used for both church and school purposes.<sup>12</sup> The walls were ceiled with split boards; there was no ceiling overhead. The usual pioneer chimney occupied almost the whole of one end of the room. The only window was closed by a sliding panel of wood. There were no desks except one for the teacher, and one made of split logs to be used by the pupils when they wished to do some writing. The seats were made of split logs, somewhat smoothed down by an ax, and set on wooden pegs. There were no backs for the seats; no blackboards; no paper of any kind. All writing had to be done on slates. Reading,

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11. Harrison County Probate Records, 1860.

12. In the sixties, a two story frame building replaced the old log house. The upper story was used as a meeting place for a Masonic lodge, while the lower was used for school and church purposes.

writing, and arithmetic were the chief subjects taught, although some attention was given to spelling and grammar. Davie's Arithmetic, Mackie's Reader, and Noah Webster's Speller were used as texts. Corporal punishment was used when rules were violated, although there were milder forms of punishment such as standing in the corner, "staying in," and keeping one's nose in the ring.<sup>13</sup> Each pupil brought his lunch to school in a bucket. The most common food was the baked sweet potato, corn bread, often "dodger bread,"<sup>14</sup> and sorghum syrup. The sessions of this school lasted about six weeks and were held in the summer when the crops were "laid by,"<sup>15</sup> Sometimes there was another session in the winter. Fort Crawford was a pay school, the usual tuition being five dollars for a term of six weeks. Sometimes, this was paid in produce, but more often, the teacher insisted on money. This was never a large school, twenty to thirty being the usual enrollment. Some time during the Civil war, it ceased to exist. The building was later torn down and moved to Hallsville where the material was used in erecting the first Methodist church in that town.<sup>16</sup>

Without a doubt, the most ambitious effort on the

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13. This exercise consisted in making a pupil stand on tip-toes for several minutes with his nose in a ring marked upon the wall with a piece of charcoal. This proved both embarrassing and nerve-racking to the miscreant.

14. Corn bread made up with water instead of milk.

15. When the ploughing was finished.

16. Dr. J.N. Hill, a pioneer citizen of Hallsville and Harrison County.

part of the pioneer of this county in the direction of education was the establishment of the Marshall University, the self-styled "Athens of Texas".<sup>17</sup> This institution was chartered by the congress of the Republic of Texas, January 18, 1842. According to its charter, it was to be established at Marshall and was to have fifteen trustees, all of whom were named in the charter.<sup>18</sup> This board was to have the right to prescribe the course of study, draw up the rules and regulations by which the institution was to be governed, receive donations, confer degrees, elect its own officers, and elect the president and other members of the faculty. Congress appropriated four sections of land to be located on any vacant public lands of the state. These four sections were finally located in Cooke, Denton, Wise, Foard, Burnet, Runnels, Smith, and Van Zandt Counties.<sup>19</sup> The ten acres on which the university was built were deeded to the board of trustees by Peter Whetstone, an early pioneer of Harrison County, and the owner of the headright on which Marshall was built.<sup>20</sup> The first building, the dimensions of which were forty by sixty feet, was of hewn logs.<sup>21</sup> No further

17. The name was changed to Van Zandt College on January 26, 1853 by a special act of the state legislature.

18. Reduced to nine by an act of congress, February 1, 1845.

19. The famous Van oil field in Van Zandt County is located on land formerly granted this institution.

20. Whetstone, who could neither read nor write, was persuaded to do this by his friend, Isaac Van Zandt. *American Sketch Book*, II, 223.

21. Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Marshall University, now in the possession of T.P. Young, who is at the present time president of the board.

information concerning this building is available. On December 18, 1849, a contract was let by the building committee for the construction of an addition to the female department, twenty by sixty feet, and another to the male department, thirty by sixty feet.<sup>22</sup> This was probably the first addition made after the original building was erected. In the male department there were to be a partition, a stack chimney in the center, eleven windows, and seven doors. This building program seems to indicate that the university was growing rather rapidly. On June 2, 1851, a contract was let by the board of trustees for a new ten thousand dollar home for the university.<sup>23</sup> This new home was built of brick, was two stories high, and its dimensions were fifty by seventy five feet. As far as the available records show, this was the last building or addition erected.

There is no certainty as to when the university opened. In all probability, its opening did not take place until September, 1843, since the deed of Whetstone to the university for the land on which the building was located was not recorded until March 27, 1843. Although little is known concerning the type of work done in this school, the following comment throws light on the work

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22. Harrison County Deed Records, Book H, p. 209f., Court House, Marshall, Texas.

23. Harrison County Deed Records, Book J., pp. 467 ff.

of the female department.

Those who did not witness the exercises of Miss Dickey's school on the 4th, inst., missed an intellectual and fancy treat. The whole gave evidence of most unremitting care and attention on the part of Miss Dickey, and of intellect and study on the part of the pupils. This accomplished teacher may challenge the rivalry of the proudest institution, and her fair wards invite the emulation of the most ambitious female adventurers in the field of science and literature.<sup>24</sup>

That the pioneers of this county were not insensible to the education of their daughters is indicated by the following quotation:

While intellect sways the conduct, and grace and beauty charms the fancy of mankind--softening the hard points, in our otherwise, rough nature, the mental culture and accomplishments of the daughters of Eve will find enthusiastic advocates. Indeed, man has neither poetry nor music in his soul, who is insensible to the charm which education lends to the female character--the grace and lustre, it adds to female virtue. The time, however, has gone by, when the duty of the parents to give their daughters a thorough and accomplished education, needs any other stimuli than the example of an age progressive in literature which has received new life from the pen of classic female writers; doubt has given place to certainty--prejudice charmed into conviction--and a beautiful theory has proven itself more beautiful in practice.<sup>25</sup>

The first president of the Marshall University was Virgil M. Dubose. He remained the head of the school until 1849. During most of this time he was assisted by Miss E. J. Dickey, the principal of the female

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24. Texas Republican, May 26, 1849.

25. Idem.

department, and these two were probably the only members of the faculty. In 1849, E. Petit became president and professor of mathematics, and the next year Miss Dickey was succeeded by Thomas Wilson, while W. A. Tarleton was added as professor of languages. At the beginning of the spring term of the university, the female department was taken over by the Marshall Masonic Lodge, and its name changed to the Marshall Masonic Female Institute. This institution continued as the principal educational agency for the young women of East Texas for over fifty years. The male department continued as the Marshall University.<sup>26</sup>

The course of study of this pioneer institution was both literary and scientific. That it was remarkable in some respects is indicated by the following advertisement:

The course of studies embraces all branches usually taught in the best institutions in the South and West.

A complete corps of teachers (male and female) has and will be provided, so that the strictest attention can be paid to all classes.

Deductions only made for protracted illness. Terms per session of five months (22 weeks).

Primary Department--orthography, reading, writing, mental arithmetic, English, grammar, and some elementary lessons in geography, natural philosophy, physiology, and history.--\$10.00.

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26. Sketches Drawn from Marshall and Vicinity, p. 16.

Junior class--English grammar, geography, arithmetic, completed, natural philosophy, botany, geology, mythology, and history.--\$15.00.

Middle class--Rhetoric, logic, moral science, mental philosophy, evidences of Christianity, political and domestic economy, astronomy, algebra, and ancient and modern languages.--\$20.00.

Senior class--Ancient and modern languages completed, geometry, trigonometry, and a review of former studies.--\$25.00.

Composition throughout the course.  
Extra--incidental expenses--\$1.00.

Drawing, painting, embroidery, and wax work.--\$10.00.

Instrumental music.--\$20.00.

Tuition payable at the end of each session.

Boarding can be had in private families convenient to the institution at \$7.00 per month.

W.R.D. Ward, President Board of Trustees.<sup>27</sup>

The Texas Republican and the Minutes of the Trustees of Marshall University give a fairly complete history of this institution. On the whole, the school was a success, turning out from its doors some of the great leaders of Texas history. Dr. Oscar H. Cooper, later state superintendent of public instruction, and now head of the department of education in Simmons University, and United States Senator Charles A. Culberson, were the most distinguished. The school continued in existence from 1843 until 1884, with the possible

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27. Texas Republican, July 13, 1850.

exception of the four years of the Civil War. On January 8, 1866 the institution again opened its doors under the presidency of Colonel F. S. Bass, a former president. He was assisted by only one teacher, W. P. Hudgins.<sup>28</sup>

In the meantime, several schools of lesser importance seem to have been established. In August, 1865, at least three such schools were in existence in Marshall. One of these, taught by John Pierce, was housed in the old Methodist Church building and was not co-educational. A Mrs. Rainey and a Mrs. Young were the teachers of the other schools.<sup>29</sup>

In 1884, Marshall University came to an end and was succeeded by the Marshall free public school system. On July 24, 1895 the board of trustees of Marshall University leased the land and buildings belonging to this institution to the board of trustees of the Marshall free public schools. The lease was to last for thirty years, the only condition being that a good school for white children only had to be maintained and the houses kept in repair. The lease was renewable.<sup>30</sup>

On May 29, 1910, a deed to this property was made to the board of education of the Marshall public schools to be used for high school purposes. The condition was

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28. Behn, "The Athens of Texas", Marshall News-Messenger, July, 21, 1929.  
29. Texas Republican, August 12, 1865.  
30. Minutes of Trustees of Marshall University, p. 31.

HARRISON COUNTY, COLORADO

that a high school building, in which only white children were to be taught subjects "purely literary, scientific, and industrial," was to be erected on the site.<sup>31</sup> In 1924 the old Marshall University building, which had, up until this date, been used for a high school, was torn down, and a new modern building erected in its place.

The old Fort Crawford school and the Marshall University have been dealt with at length because they represent types of pioneer schools in the county. One was rural and did no high school work; the other was urban, better housed, better equipped, better taught, and represented higher education. There were of course, other schools in the county at the time. In 1850, there were sixteen schools taught by sixteen teachers, and having a total enrollment of 416. None of this number were negroes. The total cost of operating these schools was \$1,040.<sup>32</sup> The population of Harrison County at that time was only 5,608<sup>33</sup> whites. That means that approximately eight per cent of the total white population was in school. This is not a poor showing when one takes into consideration that the county had been created only eleven years before. There were at this time only 132 white illiterates.<sup>34</sup> This is slightly over two per cent of the total population. Allowing for a possible

31. Harrison County Deed Records, Book 71, p. 427.

32. Seventh Census of the United States Population, transcript of record obtained from Census Bureau.

33. Idem.

34. Idem.

error due to incomplete information, these figures would seem to indicate that the pioneers of this county were, on the whole, above the average in intelligence. In 1910, the total population of the county was 37,243.<sup>35</sup> Out of this number 1,922 or 22.4 percent were illiterates. This, of course, includes the great negro population of the county and is by no means a fair comparison. The percentage of white illiterates for that year was placed at 2.9 per cent. The excellent public school system of the county has since then materially reduced the illiteracy among the negro and the white population.

Schools at this early period were poorly equipped. Maps, globes, charts and libraries were not to be found. In fact, in 1850 there were only four libraries in the county, one a public library, with a circulation of 100 volumes, and the other three, Sunday School libraries, with a combined circulation of 1,100 volumes. None of the schools had a library.<sup>36</sup> If this is compared with the present conditions when every school, no matter how small, has its library meeting state requirements, one will have some idea of the progress of the schools in the county since 1850.

In contrast to their interest in providing educational opportunities for white children the southerner was never

35. Thirteenth Census of the United States, Population and Statistics, p. 623.

36. Seventh Census of the United States, Population and Statistics, p. 521.

enthusiastic for the education of the negro. It was not altogether a selfish feeling that dominated the slave owner in this matter; he simply felt that the negro slave did not need an education, for not only would an education fail to help him to do the kind of work that he was called upon to do, but it would at the same time cause him to be dissatisfied with his lot and bring trouble to himself and his master. It is certain, however, that a great many slaves in the county were taught to read and write.<sup>37</sup> This is particularly true on the better plantations. After the war and reconstruction, the whites of the county were too bitter to care what became of the negro, so any progress that he made toward education was in spite of the southern whites rather than by their help. Some light is thrown on the situation by a letter from H. B. Pemberton, colored principal of the Marshall negro schools:

Before the smoke of battle from the Civil War had cleared away, there were sympathetic, Christian people who wanted to help the negro to secure the rudiments of an education; so these good people set about establishing private and free schools in Texas. One redeeming thing can be said of the "carpet baggers", they were the founders of the free public school system of the South. The first schools for the negroes were started in 1866 or 1867. Among the first teachers may be mentioned S. H. Smothers and Rev. William Massey, who taught in what was then known as the "Old League House" on the north side of the city. Then followed James Priye and John Anderson, who conducted schools near where Wiley College now stands. The

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37. Texas Republican, July 21, 1866.

attendance of these schools was from 150 to 200 pupils, ranging in grades from the kinder-garten to the fourth grade. A fourth grade pupil in those days was considered quite well educated.<sup>38</sup>

Pemberton's estimate as to the date of the first negro school in the county coincides with the date given by a Marshall newspaper which makes mention of O. T. Baker, a government teacher, assisted by a black man, as conducting a school for the negro. To quote from this article:

We are informed that it numbers 150 scholars; average attendance 125. The Sabbath schools number 504. Seventeen freed people who are able to read and write, assist in teaching the Sunday School scholars. During the existence of slavery, many of the blacks were taught to read and thousands were brought under the influence of the Gospel and religious instruction.<sup>39</sup>

According to Pemberton, the freed men and women were anxious to be introduced into the mysteries of an education:

Just after the War..., it was a common sight to see old men and women, between fifty and sixty years of age, with their spelling book and slate under their arm, often in company with their children and even grand children eager to learn. They were right along in the same classes as their children, and often received instruction from them. It was their one great desire to be able to read the Bible and give out hymns from the hymn book. They most literally devoured their books. They were docile, easily controled, and never resentful, even submitting to corporal punishment, if that would satisfy

38. Quoted in Lagrone, C. W., History of Negro Education in Marshall, a thesis (M.A.) Southern Methodist University, 1927. Pemberton is one of the outstanding negro educators of this section of the state. He has held his present position for thirty-eight years and has been connected with the city school system for the colored for forty-five years.

39. Texas Republican, July 21, 1866

the teacher in case of a poor lesson. The question of weather, inconvenience, and even sacrifice never daunted them in their zeal for learning. Nothing was too good to pay the teacher, corn, sweet potatoes, eggs, butter, rabbits, and even persimmons were offered. Quite a few thought at first that education was a thing that could be bought and not obtained by hard study; so many of them would come to the teachers offering all manner of things as the price for an education for their children. Many former slaves had learned to read and write from their little masters and mistresses and later became teachers and preachers to their race.<sup>40</sup>

Religious interests.--At the same time that the interest was being shown in the development of educational opportunities, a similar one was taking place in connection with religious interests. Harrison County, like other frontiers, had its rough characters. This was particularly true during the first few years of its existence, before it had gotten rid of the refuse of the "neutral ground days". Little information is available as to the religion of the very earliest settlers of the county. It is safe to say that most of them were God-fearing men and women who had little time or opportunity for the exercise of their religion. Around 1850, more is known, and we find the people actually boasting of the strength of the pulpit in the county. The first preacher in Harrison County was Reverend J. M. Baker of the Methodist Church,<sup>41</sup> who was living in the county at

40. Lagrone, op. cit.

41. French, The American Sketch Book, II, 276.

at the time of its organization. Soon after this, Rev. Burke, another Methodist, visited Marshall and preached to the people. In 1845, a Methodist conference was held in Marshall, presided over by Marshall Sole.

Although the Methodists were the first in the field, they were closely followed by the Baptists. In 1850, there were 11 churches in the county, 7 Methodist and 4 Baptist. No other denomination had an organized congregation at this time. The seven Methodist churches were valued at \$2,450 with a combined seating capacity of 2,050; the four Baptist churches were valued at \$4,900 and had a combined seating capacity of 1,450.<sup>42</sup> But the Methodists and Baptists did not long have the field to themselves. By 1860 other churches had made their appearance--the Christian, the Cumberland Presbyterian, and the Episcopal. In all, there were twenty four churches in the County.<sup>43</sup> The only other religious denominations to hold services in the county before 1880 were the Jews, who did not organize, however, until 1887, but met in private homes for worship, and the Catholics, who built their first church in Marshall in 1875.<sup>44</sup>

However indifferent the earlier settlers of the county might have been in the matter of religion, they

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO LIBRARIES  
BONNIE, COLORADO

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42. Statistics of the United States, 1850, p. 522 f.  
 43. Eighth Census of the United States, Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics, p. 472 f.  
 44. Sketches of Marshall and Vicinity, p. 54.

made up for lost time once the churches began in earnest to convert them. After 1850, perhaps the greatest single event in the life of a majority of its people was the annual camp meeting held in different parts of the county. The camp meeting served two purposes, religious and social. In those early days the county was not thickly settled with the result that one might live for days at the time without seeing anyone other than members of his own family. The camp meeting filled a necessary gap in the lives of these early settlers; it afforded them an opportunity to get together and talk over matters with their neighbors.

The meeting was held under a brush arbor. About a week before the opening day, the men and boys of the neighborhood would gather at the place, cut and haul the brush, and build the arbor. After it had been patched to the satisfaction of all, straw would be brought on wagons and scattered on the dirt floor. Later, saw dust was used. In those days men got down on their knees when petitioning the Almighty, not only the one leading the prayer, but often many others as well, so the straw served both as a cushion to the knee and to prevent the soiling of trousers. Before the altar, on each side of which was a "mourner's bench", an extra thickness was placed, as this was the part of the arbor that was most used.

The meeting usually began on a Friday night and lasted ten days. In the meantime, little brush "shanties"

and tents have been erected in the grove about the arbor, and in the afternoon before the opening night the people begin to arrive. They come on foot and on horseback, riding single or double, on carts and wagons loaded with bedding, cooking utensils, and children. Dogs have not been invited, but they come just the same, and take great pleasure in making themselves as noisy as possible. By middle afternoon, the camp begins to assume the appearance of a picnic on a large scale. Horses neigh as newcomers arrive; dogs bark, babies cry, children shout and play, and a hum of good-natured conversation, inquires, and greetings may be heard on all sides.

When the time comes for the people to assemble, a toot or a blast on a horn summons the scattered people together. Slowly, they come from different points, sometimes bringing rifles with them, which they lean against the trees. A dog fight or two is settled, the children are given one last drink, then all gather, seat themselves on the rough board seats and the meeting is ready to begin. The preacher rises, his head sometimes almost reaching into the branches of the arbor, and begins in his sonorous voice to line out some old familiar hymn ...thus the long looked for camp meeting begins.

About Sunday night the meeting usually got into full swing and mourners were called for. Sometimes they were slow in responding to the call; at other times the altar would be full. This all depended upon the eloquence of

the preacher and the hardness of the congregation. When the mourners had all assembled, a call went out to all of the Christains in the congregation to assemble in the altar "to drive Old Satan out." Up they came and sometimes there were as many as a dozen praying at the same time, loudest of all was the cry of the sinners who shouted for mercy and forgiveness. Now and then some sinner would arise from the straw and shout that his sins had been forgiven, and then the rejoicing was great. Sometimes there were as many as a half dozen shouting at the same time. When these ceased, someone else would start. The person who could shout the loudest, longest, and oftenest was supposed to have the most religion. They called this "getting happy". In those days people did not have much confidence in the new convert until he had gone by the way of the mourner's bench to the altar and publicly proclaimed that his sins had been forgiven. Preachers did not call for sinners to join the church; they called for them to come to the mourner's bench, and when they answered the call, they were prayed for on bended knee until they professed, or until the lateness of the hour drove everybody to their tents or shacks. It was easy to tell from physical evidences, the ones who had professed religion, and if a person asked to be admitted into the fold upon a simple statement that he felt that he was saved, he was locked upon with suspicion the rest of his life by his brothers.

When the last Sunday night had come and the congregation had sung "God Be With You 'till We Meet Again", there was a feeling that there had been a great spiritual uplift among the people who had attended the meeting. Even so, all went home with aching hearts, for the long looked for camp meeting was at an end and all must now return to their regular tasks.

In spite of these emotional manifestations of religious fervor, moral conditions in the frontier community were not always ideal. The people of the East were often shocked at the seeming irreligion and barbarism of the West. However, when one takes into consideration the fact that settlers always precede schools, churches, and the law, such a condition is to be expected. A certain amount of time is needed for an adjustment. Even at that, conditions in the West were not always as bad as they were pictured by those who judged entirely from outside appearance. After 1850, social and moral conditions improved rapidly in the county until they soon compared favorably with those on other frontiers. The American Sketch Book has the following to say concerning this period of history in Harrison County:

After 1850, the county filled up with a good class of people exhibiting energy and enterprise in all departments of life to such a degree in wealth and refinement that at the beginning of the war between the states, it was the wealthiest county in the state. Intelligence prevailed, refinement shown in every circle; and

hospitality greeted the stranger on every threshold.<sup>45</sup>

In another place the Sketch Book refers to the society of the city of Marshall and of the county as being chaste and cultivated, and having acquired all the modern accomplishments that characterize refined society in other cities and states. "The population," it goes on to say, "is made up of the better class of population from the older states,...and possesses all of those essential qualities of modesty, virtue, education, respect for religion, and the laws of the country, that give tone and character to society everywhere."<sup>46</sup>

The East Texas Immigration Society makes the following assertions as to the social and moral conditions in the county:

There is no one thing in which the Eastern man is more deceived by misrepresentation than the state of society in Texas. We are not outlaws, cutthroats, or thieves. We are social, clever, and sober. Our country may be favorably compared with any southern or eastern state east of the Mississippi River. We have schools and churches all over the county and in every village. Our own village is a fair standard of Harrison County towns. We have three dry goods stores, one physician, and one school of from fifty to eighty pupils, a Masonic Lodge of about fifty members, a lodge of Good Templars of over thirty members, two wood and two smith shops, one shoe and boot maker, and one boarding house. We have no barroom, nor even a whiskey shop. No one

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45. The American Sketch Book, Vol. II, p. 225.

46. Ibid., p. 227.

has been murdered on our streets in years. No one is seen with a bowie knife or pistol on our streets or in our county except travelers, who sometimes bear such articles on the highways. Our people are not addicted to political bickering. We do not ask strangers of their politics or religion, but take them to our homes and churches and bid them welcome.<sup>47</sup>

Prices.--In this day of high prices, one sometimes wishes that he could go back to "the good old days" when a pair of good shoes cost only \$2.50 and the best suit of clothes only \$12.50, or at most \$15.00. However, if records are true, such prices did not prevail in pioneer Harrison County. In 1843, George W. Hakley sued a debtor for an unpaid bill. The itemized statement of the account as brought before the court showed the following items and prices:<sup>48</sup>

$\frac{1}{2}$ box of cigars-----	\$4.00
1 plug of tobacco-----	2.30
1 pair of gloves and a blank book---	3.00
10 pounds of sugar-----	2.00
15 pounds of bacon-----	3.75
2 bottles of whiskey-----	2.00

There were a few other items and a repetition several times of those included above, especially tobacco and whiskey. However, in comparing these prices with those of today, one is forced to confess that whiskey is the only commodity on the list that sold more cheaply.

The East Texas Immigration Society offers the following figures as to prices in 1873:

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47. Texas Almanac, 1873, p. 100.

48. Harrison County District Court Record, Minutes A, p. 45.

Board in our towns cost from \$15.00 to \$20.00 per month; in the country it costs around ten dollars. Good Texas flour now costs 4¢ a pound at the mills, say from 75 to 100 miles northwest of Harrison County. We use St. Louis flour; good family brands range from \$8.00 to \$12.00 per barrel; bacon, say about twelve per cent above Cincinnati quotations; corn generally brings \$1.00, gold, per bushel; washing costs from \$1.00 to \$2.00 per dozen pieces; chickens from 15¢ to 25¢ each; butter, 12½¢ to 25¢ per pound; milch cows, with calves, from \$10.00 to \$20.00 per head; goats, from \$1.00 to \$2.00 per head; sheep, the same; beef cattle, from \$5.00 to \$8.00 per head;<sup>49</sup> work horses, from \$50.00 to \$150.00 each.

Riddell's Guide to immigrants makes the following quotations:

Beef, 2½ to 3½ a pound  
 Pork, 4½ to 6½ a pound  
 Corn, 50¢ to 75¢ a bushel  
 Flour, \$6.00 to \$9.00 a barrel  
 Butter, 10¢ to 25¢ a pound  
 Lard, 10¢ to 15¢ a pound  
 Potatoes, 50¢ to 75¢ a bushel  
 Coffee, 18¢ to 22¢ a pound  
 Syrup, 40¢ to 75¢ a gallon  
 Milch Cows \$12.00 to \$15.00 a head<sup>50</sup>  
 Hogs, \$1.50 to \$2.00 a head

The above quotations are substantially the same.

Prices for those times do look low and they were for certain articles, but careful analysis will show that the prices were low only on those articles produced on the Harrison County farm. The pioneer farmer raised practically all of his food, except his coffee, flour, and sugar, but the prices then on these three articles were as high or higher

49. Texas Almanac, 1873, p. 100.

50. Riddell, C. L., "Guide to Immigrants." Texas Almanac, 1860, p. 60.

than the same sell for now.<sup>51</sup>

The earliest available estimate of wages in Harrison County is for the year 1850.<sup>52</sup>

Average monthly wages to farm hand with board is \$10.00.  
 Average to a day laborer without board is \$1.00 per day.  
 Average to a day laborer with board is 75¢ per day.  
 Average daily wages to a carpenter without board is \$2.25.  
 Weekly wages to a female domestic with board is \$3.00.  
 Price of board to laboring men per week is \$1.25.

By 1860 the reports show that wages had increased.<sup>53</sup>

Average monthly wages for a farm hand with board is \$15.00  
 Average to day laborer with board is \$1.00 per day.  
 Average to day laborer without board is \$1.50 per day.  
 Average daily wages to carpenter without board is \$2.50.  
 Price of board to laboring men per week is \$3.00.

As is noticeable, the price of labor is rather low. There was little demand for free labor because of the use of slaves. As was to be expected the price of labor went up after the war. According to the Texas Immigration Society, good farm hands received from \$18.00 to \$35.00 per month, with board, lodging, and washing free.<sup>54</sup> That is about the amount paid today in Harrison County.

Mechanics got from one to five dollars a day, depending upon their skill and the nature of the work; teachers got from \$40.00 to \$100.00 per month; good salesmen got from \$300.00 to \$500.00 per year and board.

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51. This was typical of pioneer sections due to high freight rates.
52. Schedule 6, Seventh Census, Social Statistics, 1850, Transcript of record obtained from Census Bureau.
53. Schedule 6, Eighth Census, Social Statistics, 1860, Transcript.
54. Texas Almanac, 1873, p. 101.

Industries and transportation.--The industries of Harrison County have never been greatly diversified. Particularly was this true before the beginning of the twentieth century. Just as farming is the chief industry of the county today, so it was then. However, there were differences. In the first place methods were rather crude; and, secondly, the farmers of that day were poorly equipped.

In those days no attempt was made to take care of the land by preventing it from washing away and by rebuilding it as it wore out. Such a thing as terracing seems to have been unknown. As a result, there are many bare hillsides today that might be producing good crops had not erosion been given full sway. Much of this land will never again be of any use. In addition to the above neglect, soils were "one-cropped" to death. Cotton, then as now, was the chief crop. After 1850, only enough land to produce a sufficient amount of food for the family and live stock was planted in other crops. Rotation evidently was unknown. The same crop was planted on the same soil year after year until the soil was drained of its producing qualities and it became practically worthless. Thousands of acres of land in the county today serve as a witness to this abuse. Most of it is grown up with scraggy pine or oak trees and in many instances is not worth putting back into cultivation even after having laid out so long. However, some of this land has

been put back into cultivation and by proper care has been made productive again. Farmers seldom thought of putting anything back into the soil to replace what was taken out. Commercial fertilizers were unknown, but tons of barnyard manure, the best fertilizer available, were allowed to waste.

Such waste and neglect was not wholly due to ignorance. If such had been the case, the crime would not have been so great. The pioneer, especially the plantation owner, reasoned that the treasures of the soil were inexhaustible; that the soil would never wear out; or if it did, he could buy more land cheaper than he could take proper care of what he had. But the fallacy lay in the fact that the time was not far distant when there was no more land to be had at any price. Consequently, the county is suffering today, in an industrial way, for this negligence. There are dozen of farmers in Harrison County whose owners are barely able to eke out an existence. The condition of most of these is due to the abuse received in that period before the people learned the lesson of soil conservation.

The second difference between pioneer agriculture and that of today is that the farms of today are modernly equipped with tools and implements, whereas at that time the investment of each farmer in tools amounted to only a few dollars. A rather extensive search through the county probate records showed that the amount of property

listed as farm implements or tools was surprisingly small. It was especially a surprise to find this true for some of the larger plantations. For instance, T. C. Clark was the owner of 1,300 acres of land and his will lists only \$118 worth of farm tools and implements; James Standifer owned twelve negroes and had only ten dollars worth of tools and implements at his death; John Anderson, the owner of 640 acres of land and five negroes had \$13.75 invested in tools and implements; James Shelborne, the owner of 19 slaves showed an investment of \$123.50 for tools. Some of the poorer farmers had as little as \$2.50 invested to this purpose.

In 1850 there were 521 farms in Harrison County, containing 56,277 acres of improved land and 220,498 acres of unimproved land.<sup>55</sup> Possibly not all the improved land was in cultivation. No figures are available as to how many acres were planted in the different crops in that year, but the Texas Almanac for 1859 gives 51,708 as the number of acres planted in cotton in 1858.<sup>56</sup> This would seem to indicate that by this date cotton was rapidly replacing the other crops. It is probable that the proportion of land planted in cotton during the first years of the county's history was not so great as this. This was due to the absence of gins. The federal census

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55. Statistics of the United States, 1850, p. 514.

56. Texas Almanac, p. 114.

for 1850 gives a fairly good idea as to the kinds of crops grown and how much was planted in each. Cotton, while it appears to have been one of the leading crops, was by no means the only important one. Corn was a close second. In that year 4,581 bales of cotton were ginned in the county,<sup>57</sup> and there were 376,620 bushels of corn produced. Very likely not all of the cotton was ginned, as it was the custom in those days, as well as at a later date, to allow cotton to waste in the field due to the low price,<sup>58</sup> and to the difficulty of ginning. If one figures the production per acre at about what it is now, there were probably 15,000 acres planted in cotton in the county in 1850. Figuring corn at present day production,<sup>59</sup> there must have been around the same number of acres of that crop. As was stated above, by 1858 the number of acres of cotton had increased to over 51,000. Of course, by this time there were more settlers in the county, and, therefore, more acres of every crop in cultivation, but the increase in cotton acreage was out of proportion to the increase in population, thus indicating that cotton soon was to become "King" in the county. Other important crops were oats, peas, Irish potatoes, and sweet potatoes.

Next to farming, and in connection with it, the most

57. Idem. Evidently this was not a good cotton year, for production in 1847, according to the Texas Republican, was considerably higher. See page 16.

58. Five cents a pound in 1849. See page 16.

59. The production, due to poor cultivation, probably was not greater in spite of the greater fertility of the soil.

important industry in pioneer Harrison County was live stock raising. Again, the probate records are full of information. Aside from land, slaves, and crops, the most valuable bequests of Harrison County planters and farmers were in live stock. Practically every farmer, both large and small, had some kind of live stock in his possession. T. C. Hill, as a representative of the planter class, had 80 head of cattle, valued at \$255, 65 head of hogs, valued at \$130, 3 mules, valued at \$225, and three horses, valued at \$140. From the standpoint of valuation, this does not seem so startling, but it assumes rather great proportions when looked at from the standpoint of numbers. Benjamin Barton, a representative of the poorer class of farmers, had 23 hogs, 2 cows, 2 calves, and 2 oxen. Every will examined showed the possession of at least a cow and calf. As may be seen from the figures given above, swine led all live stock in number. This is shown more concretely by the federal census for 1850. In that year there were in this county 24,762 head of swine or an average of approximately 48 per farm. Cattle ranked next with 12,530 head. The total value of all the live stock in the county at this time was \$326,816.<sup>60</sup> Most of the live stock was used on the farm as beasts of burden, for wool or mohair, and for food. Some few cattle were driven

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60. Statistics of the United States, 1850, pp. 514 ff.

to the slaughter houses.

Perhaps next to farming and stock raising, manufacturing was the most important industry, although it was not considered important at that time. Thirteen concerns in the county in 1850 were listed as manufacturing plants. Of this number, four were saw mills, two were foundries, two were brick yards, two were saddleries, two were cabinet makers, and one was a cotton gin. The total amount of capital invested was \$59,700. Ninety men were employed; and \$61,200 worth of products were put out annually. For the same year the value of home manufactures was placed at \$2,610.<sup>61</sup>

By 1860 the number of manufacturing establishments had increased to thirty. Several new industries, such as plow works, shoe shops, carriage and wagon shops, and a cotton and woolen mill had been established. Saw mills, and gins led the others in number. The total value of saw mill products was about \$39,000, while \$86,000 worth of meal was put out by the grist mills.<sup>62</sup>

A fifth activity, and perhaps the only other one of importance, was transportation. This ceased to be of local importance after the construction of the Texas

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61. Seventh Census of the Products of Industry, transcript. There were probably more than this, but due to the difficulties in taking the census it is not likely that all was turned in.

62. Eighth Census of Products of Industry, transcript.

and Pacific Railroad through the country. Before the building of this road, started in the fifties, but not finished through the county until after the Civil War, goods were shipped up the Red River to Shreveport, unloaded there, and either transported to Marshall by men who made that their business, or were sent on up the Caddo Lake to Port Caddo or Jefferson, and then transported overland to Marshall. There are no figures as to how many were engaged in that business. Very likely, a limited number of men did a rather brisk business until railroads destroyed their occupation. About the only light thrown upon this industry is found in the article written by the East Texas Immigration Society. To quote from this article:

Scott, with General Dodge, who now controls the Texas Pacific railroad, recently visited Marshall and assured us that to the sixty-seven miles of railroad now already finished, will be added several hundred miles more within a few months. Immigrants may land at Shreveport and come out to our section (Elysian Fields) on wagons, hacks or carriages, or on the railroad to Wascom station, 23 miles west of Shreveport.

After arriving at Shreveport, single men may come out on our wagons at one to two dollars each; families may do likewise at from five to ten dollars, this being cheaper than by rail.<sup>63</sup>

The article also states that freight hauled on wagons ✓ cost about one dollar per hundred pounds per seventy-five

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63. Texas Almanac, 1873, p. 102.

miles. This would mean that the cost of transporting a bale of cotton (400 pounds then) from Marshall to Shreveport would be about \$2.25.<sup>64</sup>

It is not intended to leave the impression that the above description of social and economic conditions in Harrison County is peculiar to this county alone. Social and economic conditions in pioneer communities are essentially the same. Aside from the fact that Harrison County had slaves, while many frontier communities had none, this description is a type of pioneer conditions found anywhere on the frontier.

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64. Idem.

## Chapter III

## HARRISON COUNTY UP TO THE CIVIL WAR

Historical beginnings.--Before one can understand a great deal about the history of Harrison County, or of any other Texas County, he must first know something about the land laws of Texas. These come under five heads. Before Texas became a republic, and while it was joined with Coahuila, a liberal land policy had been adopted by Mexico. This liberality was a relative term, as it varied from time to time, depending upon who was in control of Mexican affairs, and upon the amount of outside influence brought to bear on the government. However, at the time of the Texas Revolution, the land laws of Texas and Coahuila allowed to heads of families who immigrated to Texas a league and a labor of land,<sup>1</sup> and to a single man of twenty-one years of age or over, one-third of a league.<sup>2</sup> Something like twenty-five of these grants were made. This liberal policy was retained by the Republic of Texas. Land laws under the republic were classified under four heads. Under the head of first class headrights, land certificates were issued first, to colonist whose titles arose under the colonization laws of Texas and Coahuila, and who had not yet

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1. Slightly over 4,300 acres.

2. Wooten, (ed), A Comprehensive History of Texas, I, 817.

received their grant; second, to persons living in Texas on March 2, 1836; third, to those arriving between March 2 and August 1, 1836, who received honorable discharge from the Texas army and who took the oath of allegiance prior to December 14, 1837. To the above groups of settlers the same grant was made as the State of Texas and Coahuila were making prior to the establishment of Texas independence, namely; a league and a labor of land to heads of families and one-third of a league to single men.<sup>3</sup>

Second class certificates were issued to persons who arrived after March 2, 1836, and before October 1, 1837. Heads of families received 1,280 acres of land and single men 640. Officers and soldiers of the army prior to March 1, 1836, whose families should immigrate before January 1, 1840, were to receive 1,280 acres. The owners of these headrights were bound to remain on them for at least three years.

Third class headrights were issued to persons who arrived after October 1, 1837, and before January 1, 1840, and to young men who permanently resided in the Republic and became seventeen years of age before January 1, 1840. Under this class, heads of families received 640 acres, while single men received 320.

Fourth class certificates were issued to persons

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3. Idem.

settling in Texas after January 1, 1840 and before January 1, 1842. The conditions were the same as above; namely, to qualify for a grant one had to be a free white person, to live for not less than three consecutive years on the grant, and to cultivate at least ten acres of it. A small charge was made for the certificate in each case. This price, \$5.00 for a league and labor of land, \$4.00 for less than a league and greater than a third, \$3.00 for one-third of a league, and \$2.00 for less than one-third of a league, was fixed by an act of congress.<sup>4</sup>

About the time Harrison County was created, there was a boundary dispute between the Republic of Texas and the United States of America at their eastern and western borders respectively. It will be recalled that the same dispute had once existed between the United States and Spain. The matter had been temporarily settled by General Wilkinson and General Herrera by setting up what was then called the neutral ground. The neutral ground covered the eastern part of this county. The question was not adjusted before the Texas War for Independence. In the meantime, a great many people had settled in this area thinking that they were in Texas. If this territory were in the United States, the land laws above described did not apply; if in Texas, they did. Agitation was soon started in the area for the

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4. Ibid., p. 818.

settlement of the boundary dispute. As a result, both governments made appropriations for the running of the boundary and the present boundary was set up.<sup>5</sup> This placed all of Harrison County in Texas. In the meantime, those who had settled in this area before the boundary was determined, made application for their land. It seems that they must have had a great deal of trouble in getting their certificates, for the Fifth Congress of the Republic passed an act giving the settlers the right to bring suit in the district court. As a result, the district court of Harrison County was kept busy for several years listening to cases involving land certificates.

The commonly accepted story of the appearance of the first white settler in Harrison County relates that late one afternoon, sometime during the middle thirties, a man, his wife, and children struck camp under the branches of a large oak tree on a spot which at a later date was to become a part of the city of Marshall. This man was John Beatty, who had recently come from Georgia in search of a home. A spring was soon discovered on the spot where the Ben Rosborough Garage now stands. Beatty perceived that this spring had recently been cleared and reached the logical conclusion that Indians were

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5. A full discussion of this survey may be found in Marshall, A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, pp. 224-41.

in the vicinity. For a time, uncertain whether to remain and run the risk of a night attack, or to proceed that late in the day, the family held a council. While they were in the midst of the discussion, they saw a man approaching from the west. Beatty, not knowing whether the man was a friend or an enemy, reached for his gun, and walked out to meet him. It proved to be a man named Amarillas, who with his family, it was later affirmed, was at that time the only white settler in that part of Texas north of the Sabine River. This gentleman and his family, in connection with another man and his family had emigrated from some state to the east and had settled near this place. They had built two log cabins on a hill overlooking Fern Lake and had taken up the task of conquering the wilderness in which they had settled. However, the other family who had come with the Amarillas had gotten discouraged and had gone back to their original home. The Amarillas invited Beatty and his family to occupy the vacant cabin. It was in this cabin that Sara Amarillas Beatty, the first native white child of Harrison County was born.

After the Beatty's had become well established in their new home, they were instrumental in getting their parents to immigrate to this vicinity and thus the nucleus of Harrison County was formed. When these new arrivals came, John Beatty built a new log house, on what is now Harleton road. This has been known ever since as the

"old Beatty home". Near this place, a church, probably the first in Harrison County, was built, and a cemetery laid off. All of the members of the Beatty family and those of three other families who have died are now buried there. The community which was built up around this church and burial ground became known as "Scratch Eye", because of the thick underbrush and the rough character of the country.<sup>6</sup>

A sufficient number of such communities had soon developed to warrant the creation of the county. By an act of the congress of the Republic of Texas, January 8, 1829, the County of Harrison was created. It was carved out of Shelby County, one of the twenty-five original counties in Texas, and was believed to have been named in honor of Jonas Harrison, one of its pioneer citizens. Harrison is supposed to have come to Texas in 1818 or 1820 and settled what is now Red River County. Some time during the later thirties, he moved to a place within the present boundaries of Harrison County.<sup>7</sup> Here

6. Behn, "The First Settler in Harrison County," Marshall News-Messenger, September 29, 1929. Mr. Behn is a local historian.
7. This statement is questioned by Dr. Crockett, president of the East Texas Historical Society. This man claims that Harrison settled in Shelby County when he left Red River County. The author found evidence to substantiate this view. However, the late Dr. J. W. Lively, a man who had spent a great deal of his spare time in delving into the early history of Harrison County, claimed that Harrison once lived in this county. Other local historians agree. One theory is that the county was named after William Henry Harrison who was now nearing the peak of his popularity. The people of this area being pioneers would likely have a strong liking for this old

he was employed by Jim English who, with his following, was a power in the section at that time. Very little is known of Harrison's early life, and practically nothing in regard to the first few years of his residence in this section. However, one day, his employer, who was engaged in a suit which he was about to lose, expressed, in Harrison's presence, the wish that he could find a good lawyer to represent him. It is said that Harrison was engaged in the art of skinning a beef when English walked up to him and made the above remark. He laid down his knife and told his employer that he was a good lawyer, and at his service. English finally decided to give him a trial. Harrison then quickly changed into a decent suit of clothes, went to the court house and won the suit. He afterward displayed great talent and finally became a candidate to represent the county in congress and doubtless would have been elected had not death cut short his career. 8

An interesting anecdote is told concerning him. He is said to have lived originally in Georgia, where he seems to have been a trusted and well-liked man. On the

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Indian fighter. It would seem that Harrison did live within the boundaries of what is now Harrison County or else the county was not named in his honor. It is hardly likely that any county would have been named in honor of one who had not lived within its boundaries who was no better known than Jonas Harrison.

6. Morning Star, May, 1894.

night before he left for Texas, a group of his neighbors gathered at his house to give him a farewell party. One of the party, in the spirit of jest, gave Harrison a walking cane with this admonition: "If you ever meet a man more homely than yourself, present him with this cane." Harrison left the next morning, and after several years in other parts of Texas, he finally settled about ten miles from the present site of Marshall. Quite a while had passed and he still had his walking cane. Then one day he decided that he had found the man he had been looking for. Whereupon, he walked up to him and presented the cane with this speech: "My friends back home in Georgia gave me this cane and told me to present it to the first man I met more homely than myself. You are that man, so here is your cane." It seems that the man was not as humorous as the donor and gave him a severe beating.<sup>9</sup>

The act creating the county provided that as soon as the chief justice should be appointed, he should proceed at once to call an election for the selection of a county seat. The election was to be held at the houses of Thomas Timmons and William J. Wells. The county was given one representative in congress and became a part of the senatorial district then comprising the counties of Shelby and Sabine.<sup>10</sup>

9. The above story was told by an old lady named Mrs. Mauldin to Dr. Lively. Its veracity is not attested to, but it is generally believed.

10. Laws of the Republic of Texas, Third Congress, p. 159.

The first chief justice was George B. Atkins, an appointee of President Lamar. In accord with the above mentioned act, Judge Atkins proceeded to call the election for the selection of a county seat, which resulted in Greensborough being selected. Greensborough was located on the Sabine River about twelve miles south of the present city of Marshall at what was then known as Robinson's Ferry. The land for its site was donated by Bailey Anderson. This town remained the county seat until 1841.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the early settlers of Harrison County came from the southern states. This was natural, because in the first place, it was nearer to them than to the northern and eastern states, and secondly, because its soil and climate were well adapted to the plantation system then so prevalent in the South. The original homes of forty different pioneer families were investigated. The results showed that Tennessee led the group with eight; Georgia followed with seven; Mississippi, North Carolina, and Louisiana were third with five each; Alabama was fourth with four, and Kentucky and South Carolina had three each.<sup>12</sup> Further investigation showed that in almost every case the same family had moved at least one state westward once before, or its forbears had.

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11. Morning Star, May, 1894, A newspaper published in Marshall at this time.

12. This information was obtained by conferences with descendants of pioneer settlers of this county.

"Go West" seems to have been the order of the day for those sturdy forbears of ours who considered a place too crowded when it became settled, and so moved on west to conquer a new land as they or their father before them had done.

There were three great waves of farmers into the West. The first group were the real pioneer, who, with his children and few belongings stacked in ox wagons, made the journey west. This pioneer farmer built a crude log cabin, a stable, a corn crib, and cleared up a few acres of ground. By this time, the second wave of farmers, the purchasers, had reached his vicinity. The pioneer farmer suddenly decided that he was being crowded too much, sold his farm, and few improvements, and again, headed for the West. This second wave of farmers cleared more land, built roads, bridges, churches, and schools. Better homes with glass windows were erected, and quite often orchards were planted. By the time all of this took place, the men of capital had arrived, and the purchaser then moved on to a new frontier to repeat the same process. Under the enterprise of these new settlers the country took on the appearance of civilization. Small villages developed into towns, extensive fields, orchards, and gardens were planted. The day of luxuries arrived. But in spite of this general tendency, not all of either of these waves moved on.

About the same thing happened in Harrison County.

The ancestors of Walter P. Lane came from Ireland, settled in Maryland, moved to Virginia, later to Kentucky, and finally, he wound up by settling in Harrison County. Lane himself, died in Marshall, but relatives of his are distributed in the counties from Harrison to the Rio Grande. The first wave of pioneers who came into this county were the small farmers. Naturally, they settled in the eastern half. This is indicated by two facts, the location of the county seat, and the location of the houses at which the first election in the county was held. The house of Thomas Timmons was about 18 miles southeast of Marshall, and three miles from Elysian Fields, while that of Wells was located about six miles north of Marshall. Thus neither was located in the west, indicating very little, if any, population in this area. Greensborough, the county seat, was located 12 miles directly south of Marshall.<sup>13</sup> Assuming that it was customary then, as now, to locate the seat of justice as near the center of the population as possible, it would seem safe to conclude that the frontier of 1839 was approximately a line passing through the place where Marshall now stands, and running due north and south.

The period of settlement of the small farmer was approximately the decade between 1832 and 1842, partic-

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13. American Sketch Book, II, 227.

ularly the latter part of the decade. At about the latter date, the small slave owners began coming in. Many of the holdings of the small farmers were bought out, and in some instances combined into small plantations. The small farmers moved on to the western end of the county, or the eastern side of the next county, or on still farther west. This wave of immigration lasted for another decade. Around 1850, many large slave owners from the southern states to the east, having need for expansion, sold out or abandoned their former plantations, and settled in the eastern half of Harrison County. The smaller plantation owners moved westward, some settling in the western part of the county. It was under the regime of the large plantation owners that the county made its greatest development in a social, religious, economic, and political way. By 1860, it had more slaves than any other county in the state.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, it was one of the three wealthiest counties in Texas.

Settlement as described in Harrison County, may be traced all the way across the state, except that of the last wave of farmers. The large plantation owners barely got out of that first tier of eastern counties, of which Harrison is a part, before the Civil War came

14. There were 8,784. Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population, p. 481.

destroying the institution of slavery. In fact, there are evidences that the third wave of immigration barely reached the western half of the county. Even today, the western half is a region of small farmers, while the eastern half is one of large farms. This is due, in part, to the large slave owners not having yet moved into the western end of the county. Of course, there were slave owners in the western half, and even in counties to the west, but the number was not great, and the size of the plantations was not so large. Even today, most of the negroes are in the eastern and southern part of the county.<sup>15</sup>

Once immigration had started, it spread rapidly over all eastern Texas. Of course, as one traveled westward, the population became less dense. Just to give an idea of how this westward movement, of which Harrison County was a connecting link, progressed across the state. A line was drawn due west from Marshall, the date of the creation of each county through which the line passed was noted. The following was found to be true: Harrison County was created in 1839; Upshur, the next county to the west, was created in 1846; Smith, 1846; VanZandt, 1848; Kaufman, 1848; Dallas, 1846; Tarrant, 1850; Parker, 1856; Palo Pinto, 1857, and so on across the state to Gaines County on the New Mexico border, in 1876. There are

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15. Harrison County Soil Survey, p. 37.

only two breaks in the steady westward movement; Dallas was created ahead of Kaufman to the east, and Shackelford ahead of Stephens.

Of course, to a certain extent, settlement in all East Texas was going on at about the same time, due to the fact that not all of the immigrants who came into this and other border counties settled in them. After the county became fairly well settled, a great many of them, perhaps a majority, passed on through to the next county or even further as is indicated by the following comment:

For the last two weeks emigrants have been passing through our town to an extent never before witnessed. We suppose they have averaged from ten to fifteen families a day, and "still they come". It is reasonable to suppose that Old Harrison catches her share. With the emigrants there have passed at least 2,000 negroes.<sup>16</sup>

There are no definite figures as to how many people were in Harrison County when it was created. However, it is known that there were about 150 voters in the county at the time of its first election. Assuming that one-fifth of the population were voters, which may have been slightly high or slightly low, the population must have been around 750. It is possible that there were a few more, if slaves were included. By 1850, the population had increased to 11,822, of which number 6,213 were

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16. American Sketch Book, II, p. 217

slaves.<sup>17</sup> At that time Harrison County had the largest population of any county in the state. The next figures available are in 1857. At this time the estimated population was only 13,752, of which number 7,203 were slaves.<sup>18</sup> During the seven years from 1850 to 1857, there was an increase of 1,000 in the slave population, which was slightly more than the increase in the white population for the same length of time. No more figures are available as to the white population until 1873. In 1858, there were 7,717<sup>19</sup> negroes, showing an increase of over 500 in one year.<sup>20</sup> By 1859, the negro population had increased to 8,095. It is safe to say that there were 8,800 negroes in Harrison County at the outbreak of the Civil War, but there seems to have been an actual decrease in white population. In 1870, there were only 4,310 whites in the county.<sup>21</sup> One possible reason for this decrease might be traced to casualties suffered during the war. Another might have been due to the emigration of small farmers and plantation owners to make way for the expansion of the plantation system. Statistics show that some of these plantations were unusually large. Colonel Scott of Scottsville was perhaps the largest landowner in the county at that time. This

17. Frontier Times I, 16; Texas Almanac, 1850, p. 181.

18. Texas Almanac, 1858, p. 230.

19. Texas Almanac, 1859, p. 224.

20. Texas Almanac, 1860, p. 228.

21. Ninth Census of the United States, Population, 1870, p. 64.

man owned five great plantations over each of which he had an overseer. At one time he owned practically all of the land from Scottsville to Elysian Fields one way, to Marshall the other, to Caddo Lake another, and to Jonesville still another. There must have been at least 25,000 acres in these five plantations; of course, the larger part of this land was unimproved. Colonel Scott's plantation was without doubt the exception in size rather than the rule, but four and five thousand acre estates were not unusual, while 1,500 to 2,000 acre estates were common. In 1860, there were forty plantations in the county having between 1,400 and 2,500 acres.<sup>22</sup> Still another cause for the decrease in white population may be attributed to hard times which followed the Civil War, usually in such cases there was a general exodus westward.

An indicator of the increase in population appears in 1841. An act of the congress of the Republic of Texas passed on January 30, 1841, organizing the northern part of Harrison County into the judicial county of Panola.<sup>23</sup> The southern line of this judicial county ran about two miles south of Elysian Fields, east to the Louisiana border, and west to the border of Harrison County. This county was to have all of the functions of any other county, except separate representation. All that portion south of

22. Eighth Census of Agriculture, 1860, transcript from Census bureau.

23. Laws of the Republic of Texas, Fifth Congress, p. 153.

the above line constituted the County of Harrison. The act named the following men as commissioners to select a seat of justice for Panola County: Seaborn Robinson, John M. Clifton, David Hill, Peter Whetstone, and James A. Williams. The name of the county seat was to be Marshall, and the commissioners were granted the right to purchase or receive a donation of land not exceeding 320 acres to be laid out into lots and sold to get money to build whatever public buildings were necessary. A like committee, composed of Hancock Smith, Samuel McCall, William Fitz Gibbons, Captain Copeland, and James Tippet, was selected for Harrison County. The latter committee selected Pulaski, about 30 miles southeast of Marshall, situated on the east side of the Sabine River. The land for the county seat was donated by Joseph Humphries.

When it became known in the northern half that a county seat was to be established, there was great rivalry among the owners of the land in the county, because each wanted the county seat built on his headright. Perhaps the most ingenuous of all these was Peter Whetstone. Although a member of the locating commission, he seemed to be unable to convince all of his fellow commissioners as to the desirability of his headright for the location. One, in particular, John M. Clifton, seemed harder to convince than the others. After Whetstone had conducted the commissioners over his headright, pointing out its many merits as they went, he was met with this speech

from the obdurate commissioner: "Oh, yes, the elevation is all right, the view is picturesque, and all that, but it is too dry, don't you know?" Whetstone did not say a word, but running his hand into the hollow of the tree he happened to be leaning against, he brought out a rather corpulent black bottle, which he handed to Clifton. The latter drank heavily, and long from the same, and passed it on to the next commissioner who did likewise. Thus the bottle made the round. By the time it got back to Whetstone, it was empty. Clifton at once withdrew his objection with the remark that he was mistaken as to the land's having been too dry.<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, the town was laid out on one hundred and sixty acres, Whetstone entering into a contract with the commissioners by which he donated the eighty comprising the east half of the survey, and thirty lots in the west half. At the same time, he donated the ten acres for the Marshall University. The commissioners proceeded at once to erect a frame building to serve as a court house. It was located on what is now the southwest corner of the square. In 1851, another court house, placed in the center of the square, was built by B. T. Boulware.

The town thus located, now a city of some 20,000 people, is forty-two miles from Shreveport, on the east,

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24. Morning Star, May, 1894.

and about 150 miles from Dallas on the west. It was named in honor of John Marshall, for a long time the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Isaac Van Zandt is given the honor of selecting its name.<sup>25</sup> Van Zandt, like most lawyers of that time, worshipped at the shrine of this great man, so when he was given the privilege of naming the county seat of his county, he unhesitatingly said that it should be called "Marshall".

The first store in Marshall was owned by Edmund Key. The store is said to have been located just west of the present site of the post office. It was a dry goods store, and is reputed to have been one of the largest in Texas. A little later, G. Gregg, opened another dry goods store about where Garret's Furniture store now stands. The only furniture store in Marshall, or in the county, before the Civil War was operated by a Mr. Long in his residence. The owner lived in the back of a two-room building and made and sold his furniture in the front room. A Mr. Satter, owned the only shoe shop in Marshall before the Civil War. There were few grocery stores in Marshall at this time, as the great planters of the county bought all of their supplies out of New Orleans.<sup>26</sup>

The City of Marshall was incorporated in 1844 by an

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25. Charlie Behn, "Harrison County's Three Court Houses," MS. in office of Marshall News-Messenger.  
26. American Sketch Book, II, 220.

act of the Congress of the Republic of Texas.<sup>27</sup> Not much is known as to the growth of population. It is known, however, that almost from its beginning, it was noted for three things, the strength of its pulpit, the strength of its bar, and for its educational opportunities. In 1820, there were three well established churches with pastors in Marshall, the Methodist, the Cumberland Presbyterian, and the Baptist. Its bar included such men as T. J. Rusk, Issac Van Zandt, Louis T. Wigfall, and other prominent Texas lawyers. For young men, it had the Marshall University, and for young women, the Marshall Female Institute.

By 1850, its population had reached 1,180, 421 of which were slaves.<sup>28</sup> It was one of the four largest towns in the state, being surpassed only by San Antonio with a population of 3,488, Houston, with 2,396, and New Braunfells, with 1,298. Ten years later, it had been passed in population by several other towns. The plantation system was not conducive to the development of towns.

Within a year from the time it was founded, this town faced the danger of losing its prestige because of a Supreme Court decision that the act creating such judicial counties as Panola was unconstitutional. The

27. Laws of the Republic of Texas, Ninth Congress. p. 6.  
28. Statistics of the United States, 1850, p. 504.

question now came up, "Where is the county seat?" It was decided to be at Pulaski; but this place was intended as the county seat of only the southern half of Harrison County. It was far from the center of the population; accordingly, an election was held for the selection of a county seat, and Marshall was chosen.

In the meantime, C. K. Andrews, the county clerk of Harrison County, before its division had resigned, and he now became a candidate for, and was elected, county clerk of the new County of Panola. Thomas H. Wolf was elected clerk of Harrison County. Both men entered upon the discharge of their duties. Soon after the decision of the Supreme Court was announced, Andrews resigned as county clerk for Panola County, and the chief justice of Harrison County issued writs for the election of a county clerk for Harrison County. Edward C. Beazley became a candidate, and was declared elected, but when he asked Wolf for the seal of office and certain papers, the latter refused to give them up, claiming to be the legally elected clerk of the Harrison County Court. Beazley then brought suit in the district court. In this suit he claimed that Pulaski, and not Marshall was the county seat of Harrison County. The district court rendered a decision against the plaintiff who thereupon appealed to the Supreme Court of Texas. This court, after reviewing the case, handed down the decision that Marshall was legally the county seat of Harrison County;

that C. K. Andrews, having resigned the office of county clerk of Harrison County to accept that position in Panola County, was accepting an office incompatible with the duties of his former office, and that the office of county clerk in Harrison County was thereby vacated; that Thomas H. Wolf, being elected in his stead, and that since the judicial county was not legal, there was no vacancy, and hence the election of Beazley was illegal.<sup>29</sup>

In January, 1844, a part of Harrison County was cut off and added to Bowie County.<sup>30</sup> In March, 1836, the County of Panola was actually created. A part of this county was cut off from Harrison County, and a part from Shelby. However, instead of Panola's becoming the northern part of Harrison County, as was intended when it was divided for judicial purposes only, the southern part of the original Harrison County went to Panola, while the northern part with Marshall as county seat, retained the name Harrison.

On two or three occasions at later dates, parts of Harrison County were detached and added to other counties. The part detached in 1844 seems to have gone to Marion, when it was organized in 1860. When Gregg and Upshur were organized, they also received a share of the original County of Harrison. After the Civil War, the last reduc-

29. Texas Reports, Vol. 0, 1843, p. 537.

30. Laws of the Republic of Texas, Seventh Congress, p. 12.

tion was made when Marion County received another strip.

Thus far, nothing has been said in regard to the Indians of Harrison County. The truth of the matter is, that the people of Harrison County were singularly free from the molestations of their red brothers. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, Indians in this section of the country at the time of the settlement of Harrison County were not numerous. Secondly, those that were here, the Caddos, were more or less friendly, and caused little trouble for the early settlers. In Wilbarger's Indian Depredations In Texas, there are 238 references to fights with Indians, but not one is in Harrison County, and few are in East Texas. This leaves us to suppose that, while there must have been skirmishes with Indians, probably there never were any real battles.

Prior to 1836, a white settler's cabin might be found here and there within the present boundaries of Harrison County, but the only settlements of any importance at that time were five villages of Caddo Indians.<sup>31</sup> These Indians were friendly, and proved not to be unpleasant neighbors. At night, their camp fires glowed through the gloom of the forest, and their weird singing in sad and plaintive cadences varied the stillness of the summer nights. It was this tribe of Indians, who, while away from their homes one night, some years earlier, heard

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31. Morning Star, May, 1894.

a great roaring, and rushing back found that a great lake (Caddo) had formed there.<sup>32</sup>

In 1836, or 1838, the government of the United States purchased the claims of the Caddo Indians to the land they were occupying within the boundaries of the United States. At that time, the line between Texas and the United States had not been run, so the Indians in Harrison County, supposing that they had sold their possessions on the Texas side, moved westward.<sup>33</sup>

Until 1842, Harrison County was a border county, and for several years during the earlier period of settlement, there were only a few white settlements to the west. The county was, therefore, to a certain extent subject to the invasions of Indians. As a protection against these raids, the settlers built Fort Crawford, only a short distance from where the town of Hallsville now stands. In 1839, the Indians seem to have made a raid in the county and killed several persons. The settlers, in order to protect themselves, their families, and live stock, fled to the stockade of Fort Crawford.<sup>34</sup>

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32. This is purely legendary. The explanation is that a tremendous amount of gas had collected beneath the surface in this region, and finally finding itself too closely confined within its subteranean passages, suddenly blew the top of the earth to pieces, thus creating a depression in the earth's surface which quickly filled with water. There are other theories of its formation. Ecologists claim that the lake was formed sometime between 1770-1778.

33. The American Sketch Book, II, 216.

34. Ibid., p. 226. This is the only recorded raid of Indians on Harrison County, though others are indicated.

On one other occasion, the settlers of Harrison County had contact with the Indians. During the Indian troubles in Nacogdoches County, General Thomas J. Rusk, with his army, went in pursuit of a band of Caddo Indians, a part of the tribe which had formerly lived in this county. As Rusk advanced, the Indians fled before him, crossing Harrison County in their attempt to reach the border. This they soon accomplished, but the Texas general did not stop at the border, but without hesitation, went on into Louisiana. Some of the citizens of Shreveport protested against this act as a violation of treaty stipulations, and demanded protection from the United States troops at Fort Jessup, about sixty miles distant. Rusk finally withdrew, but not until he had informed his accusers that if the Indians he pursued committed any further depredations in Texas, he would punish them regardless of where they went.<sup>35</sup> So far as is known, the above incident was the last occasion on which the people of Harrison County had to fear an Indian invasion. Soon afterwards, the county was so well settled as to make Indian raids unprofitable.

The birth of justice.--In July, 1806 Herrera, a Spanish general, with over a thousand men, alarmed by the activities of Zebulon Pike along the Red River, made

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35. Ibid., p. 227.

forced marches to the vicinity of the Sabine. He feared that the eastern boundary of Texas was about to be invaded by the troops of the United States, and it was his purpose to defend Spanish soil. Not content, he soon crossed the Sabine where his immediate return to the other bank was demanded by General Wilkinson, then in command of the United States troops in Louisiana. To re-enforce the demand, Wilkinson rendezvoused his troops at Natchitoches. Here the politician, General Wilkinson, and the suave Herrera met and held a consultation. What they said has never been made public. Many conjectures have been made as to the details of the consultation. The conference seems to have borne fruit, for Herrera at once withdrew, and the territory between the Sabine River and the Arroyo Hondo was declared to be neutral ground, pending a settlement of the boundary question.<sup>36</sup>

The neutral ground then became the scene of one of the darkest pages in Texas history. Being neither under the jurisdiction of Spain, nor of the United States it became the sanctuary of the lawless element from both countries. If a man got into trouble at home, he was almost sure eventually to come to the neutral ground. Thieves, forgers, wife deserters, murderers, all were there; and being subject to no law, each individual lived

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36. Atterbury, "The Bloody Neutral Ground in Harrison County," Texas History Teacher's Bulletin, XIV, pp. 74 ff.

his own life in whatever way he thought would bring the greatest profit to himself, and discomfort to his enemies. To say that all who settled in the neutral ground were of this character would be to exaggerate, for some were of an enterprising character and had come to this land to build their homes. However, these were the exception rather than the rule. These men continued their acts of lawlessness after settlers began to come. Cattle and horses were stolen, men were murdered, and in 1838, when the Texas land office was opened, the profits arising from the sale of the headright certificates suggested their manufacture and sale in quantities. So, counterfeiting of land certificates became one of the leading businesses of the county, and incentive was given to a new character of lawless people to come in. The focus of their counterfeiting operations was not in Harrison County, it reached this county, as well as several others. The members of the board of land commissioners for Shelby County were found to be suitable instruments for this business, so in the main, its operations were confined to that county. However, that the operations of counterfeiters did reach this county is shown by the large number of land suits during the first years of its existence. Nor was the counterfeiting traffic limited to land certificates, but included the circulation of counterfeit money.<sup>37</sup> Of

37. Wooten, A Comprehensive History of Texas, I, 431.

Lawlessness of all kinds increased so rapidly that something had to be done. The first outbreak precipitated was outside of the boundaries of the neutral ground. In 1841, Charles W. Jackson, at one time of Kentucky, who had been running a steamboat on the Mississippi, to escape punishment for some crime, had disappeared; and, coming to Shreveport, had set up a mercantile business. A large reward was offered for his return. One day a party of men recognized him, arrested him, and put him on board a vessel bound for New Orleans. However, he managed to make his escape and returned to Shreveport ahead of his captors, where he was successful in raising a band of his friends for his defense. When his captors tried to retake him, several were killed, and the attempt was abandoned. Jackson, fearing further trouble, left Shreveport in secret and came to Shelby County, one of the three counties included in the neutral ground.<sup>38</sup> Shortly after his arrival here, he became involved in politics and ran for congress, but was defeated, so he declared, by the counterfeiters. He then wrote a letter to Austin, the state capital, reporting the state of affairs. As a result of this letter, he received one from Joseph Goodbread, one of the commissioners of the Shelby County land office, to the effect that if he did not cease to meddle in affairs that did not concern him,

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38. That is, Harrison, Shelby, and Panola, after its organization.

would be shot. Jackson had hardly read the letter before he was on his way to avenge the insult. Shortly afterward, he presented the letter to its author on the court house steps of Shelbyville, and a moment later shot him dead. Jackson was soon arrested, but was not put in jail.

He now proceeded to organize a band of about thirty young men, called Regulators, whose purpose was to protect him, and to rid the county of undesirables. Other organizations were formed, both in Shelby and Harrison Counties. Many of the best citizens of the county became members. Captains, lieutenants, sentinels, and spies were elected, and meetings held in the midst of thick pine forests. A counter organization was then formed to regulate the Regulators, and thus affairs stood when Jackson was brought to trial in Harrison County.<sup>39</sup> The trial was set for July 12th, 1841. On that date Jackson appeared at court, escorted by state guards, most of whom were probably Regulators.

Shortly before the court was opened, Judge Hansford, who was to try the case, made an indiscreet remark. He said: "That damned rascal Jackson will be here in an hour, and I want all the Moderators to assemble well armed, and be here by the time he arrives," that Jackson had murdered a defenseless man, and "has since that

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39. The case had been transferred from Shelby County to this one.

time whipped and ordered from the county another; and the damned rascal ought to be brought to justice."<sup>40</sup> However, Judge Hansford's remark leaked out, and by the time Jackson arrived, a sufficient number of Regulators had gathered to guarantee fair play at least. One of the first acts of the court was to issue an order forbidding anyone to come into the courthouse while armed.

Jackson was given his choice of being tried before a jury of twelve men, or before Judge Hansford, and chose the former. From day to day, the judge postponed the case until finally on the night of the 14th of July, he slipped out of town to the home of Judge Samuel McHenry where he addressed the following notes:

At the office of Judge McHenry,  
July 15, 1841.

To the Sheriff of Harrison Co., Texas,  
"Being unwilling to risk my person in the court house any longer, when I see myself surrounded by bravos and hired assassins and no longer free to preside as an impartial judge at the special term of the court called for the trial of Charles W. Jackson, I order you to adjourn court tomorrow at eight o'clock, by proclamation with day.

"From your hands at the regular time, I shall expect the prisoner. You will receive the prisoner and keep him safely, thereby causing him to be securely ironed and keeping a strong guard until delivered by due course of law.<sup>41</sup>

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40. Frontier Times, I, 14.

41. Harrison County District Court Records, 1841,  
p. 413.

July 15, 1841.

To the Clerk of the District Court of  
Harrison County.

"Sir, the gradual development of circumstances which have come to my knowledge since and before the commencement of the special trial of the District Court, and more particularly this evening, have assumed such a character that the District Judge is no longer in the exercise of his functions as the presiding officer of his court, and unwilling to act as such any longer, unless he can choose without compulsion or restraint, he is determined to avoid the mockery of holding a court under the government and control of hired assassins and to refuse the safety of his person to meet the menace without sufficient force for protection.

You will preserve with care the records, and consider yourself no longer bound to attend court at Pulaski, the county site."<sup>42</sup>

Of course the sheriff released the prisoner, and since court was over, the factions started home, but by different routes. On their way, the Regulators burned the homes of Henry Strickland and John McFadden. Jackson and his friends now took control of affairs. Orders were issued for the arrest of the chief justice of Panola County, who was actually seized and deported to Louisiana.

For the next few months, there was disorder on all sides. The purpose of the two rival groups seems to have been the extermination of the other. Jackson may have been honest in his purpose to punish those who stole, robbed, and counterfeited. If so, he was duped, for the men he had set out to punish were men of genius.

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42. Ibid., 414.

Realizing that they would be speedily exterminated unless they acted, they used their brains and joined one or the other of the organizations, generally the Regulators. According to the rules of the latter organization, each member had the right to turn in to the organization the names of criminals he personally knew about. This, as might have been suspected, was abused, for instead of turning in the name of criminals, each man felt it to his advantage to turn in that of his enemy. Consequently, many innocent men were arrested by order of the organization, and brought before its irregularly organized court for trial. In many cases, arrest was resisted, and a number of people were killed in the attempt. Those who were brought to trial were forced to plead "guilty", or "not guilty". In either case, they were severely punished, and in some cases, made away with mysteriously.

The Moderators, if more honest, were none the less severe in their dealings with the Regulators, and retaliated in kind. Life and property became in peril, and the destruction of the country was threatened.

The leader of the Regulator movement in Harrison County was William Boulware, a rather picturesque frontiersman, who had made a fortune in trading with the Indians. He, like Jackson, in Shelby County, had a great many enemies. In fact, their hatred for him was so great that he was forced to build a block-

house for protection. This house was situated in north Marshall, near the present location of the Texas and Pacific shops. It became the meeting place of his followers, and many dark deeds were planned within its walls. However, Boulware's block-house was not the only one in the county. Others for the same purpose were erected in the different parts of the county, especially along the Sabine River.

Another leader of the Regulators was William Pinckney Rose. He was rather aggressive in his methods, as were most of the Regulator chiefs, and found himself many times in a difficult position. One day he was in the field at work with his slaves when he saw what he thought to be a group of Moderators ride up to his house. His slaves, at a signal from him, quickly covered him with newly cut pine brush, and were busy about their accustomed tasks by the time the Moderators arrived on the scene. They were advised by the slaves that "Massa's clean gone", While the Moderators were debating the question, a curious rooster arrived on the scene and with a great deal of cackling and evident alarm proceeded to investigate the brush pile. Rose felt sure that his time for death had arrived, but the Moderators evidently suspected nothing, and soon rode away. Immediately after the danger had passed, Rose had the rooster beheaded.<sup>43</sup>

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43. Marshall News-Messenger, Oct. 13, 1929.

Another person in this county who was to a certain extent associated with the Regulators was Colonel William T. Scott.<sup>44</sup> One night a band of Moderators came to the door of his house and asked for him. The band very courteously offered to let the lady members of the family escape before they entered the house. Mrs. Scott thanked the leader and then went back into the house. She quickly attired her husband in a night gown, tied a night cap on his head and placed a child in each arm. Dressed thus, he walked by the Moderators and escaped. He left the two children in the cabin of one of his slaves and hurried to his chief, Rose, who also was his father-in-law.<sup>45</sup>

A story is told of a traveler, who met a band of men on a road. They demanded to know whether he was a Moderator or a Regulator. Since he believed that they were Regulators, he declared his allegiance to that clan. He was then severely beaten, but told to be a Moderator from then on. Soon afterward, he met another band of men, and upon having the same question asked him, replied according to the instructions just received, that he was a Moderator, whereupon, he was again beaten, and told to be a Regulator. Still later, he met a third group and this time, he told them that he was "nothing, and very little of that".<sup>46</sup>

44. The founder of Scottsville, the owner of five plantations and 700 slaves.

45. Burba, "The History of the Scottsville Plantation," Marshall News-Messenger, July 21, 1929.

46. Atterbury, op. cit., pp. 74 ff.

Peter Whetstone, on whose headright the city of Marshall was located, was a Moderator. He, like others of his faith, had his bitter enemies. Once while attempting to escape from a body of Regulators, he hid in a thicket about where the Auto Laundry at Marshall now stands. The Regulators then surrounded the thicket and awaited developments. Just as Whetstone believed himself about to escape, he was confronted by one of his enemies, armed, and with a grim countenance. "My friend," asked Whetstone, "why do you wish to kill me? I have never harmed you in any way." As the Regulator lowered his gun, he said: "Go on, but never tell any one I let you pass."<sup>47</sup>

Not all of the incidents in connection with the Regulator-Moderator feud turned out so happily as the ones described above. Whetstone was killed a short time later by William T. Boulware. One day the two enemies met in a grocery store located on the spot where the old Capitol Hotel used to stand. Both were drinking and quarrelled. When Whetstone left, Boulware followed and shot him dead.<sup>48</sup> There is no record of Boulware's having been indicted.

Robert Potter was perhaps the most aggressive leader of the Moderators in Harrison County. He had

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47. Idem.

48. Sketches Drawn from Marshall and Vicinity, p. 55.

migrated to this region from North Carolina, where he had gotten into serious trouble. After looking around a bit, he built a house on a cliff overlooking Caddo Lake. This point has been known since as "Potter's Point". He soon entered politics and held some of the highest positions within the gift of the state. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence; fought in the Battle of San Jacinto, and was secretary of the navy at the time of his death. When the Moderator-Regulator feud came on, he allied himself with the Moderators. It was he who led the band of Moderators to the home of Captain Rose and almost discovered him in the brush pile. However, that night, Captain Rose, determined to take no more chances, summoned his faithful band together and surrounded Potter's house. Mrs. Potter begged her husband to stay in the house and fire from the port holes, but he told her that he could escape, as he had done many times before, by diving from the bluff into the lake. The leap was successfully made, but as he rose from the water to get air, a bullet fired by one of his enemies found its mark and killed him. His body sank to the bottom of the lake, where it rested until, disturbed by the churning wheels of a passing steamer, it came to the surface. His wife secured it and buried it near the house, on Potter's Point.

Judge Hansford, who, if not a Moderator, sympathized

with them, was one of the prominent victims of lawlessness. After leaving the bench, he retired to his home near Jonesville. In 1844, while he and his wife were absent, attending church one Sunday morning, a mob took possession of his house, and upon his arrival, demanded possession of some slaves he was holding under a writ of sequestration. He refused to accede to the demand, whereupon he was shot and killed. It is not known today who was responsible for this deed, but the court records show that at the time the murder took place, Judge Hansford had a suit pending in the district court against a certain prominent member of the Regulator clan. However, there is no evidence to prove that this man killed, or helped to kill Hansford. No one was ever indicted for the crime. In fact, the court records show not over half a dozen cases of indictment for murder, up to 1845. Such in brief was the lack of effectiveness of the court system in Harrison County during these early days.

In the meantime, the Regulator-Moderator feud was rapidly approaching a climax. Jackson, a few months after his trial, was waylaid by a group of Moderators, among whom was purported to be Jack Crane, Squire Humphries, William McFadden, Bailry McFadden, Sam Todd, and a man named Bledsoe...<sup>49</sup> Jackson was shot without a chance of defending himself.

At least two of this party had personal grudges against Jackson. It will be recalled

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49. Frontier Times, I, 16.

that Jackson and his band of Regulators burned the home of John McFadden while on their way back from his trial. Squire Humphries was the other member of the party who had received injuries from Jackson. Soon after getting back from his trial, Jackson heard that an old man by the name of Carr had some horses and mules stolen from him by freebooters. He immediately called his followers together at a big dinner and matured his plans for the recovery of the horses. A few days later some of the horses and mules were found at the house of Squire Humphries, and he was caught and whipped. The whole party returned to the home of John McFadden. A band of fifty Moderators quickly gathered at McFadden's house to protect the assassins while the slayers hid in near-by swamps and made their wants known by signals. Sheriff A. A. George of Shelby County is said to have fled to Nacogdoches, leaving his deputy, J. W. Middleton in charge. The new sheriff and his party started out to arrest McFadden and the others.

About the same time, Watt Moorman, the leader of the Moderators was killed by John Bradly, who had assumed leadership of the Regulators after the death of Jackson. Bradly at once fled to Shelbyville for the protection of the Regulators. Thus it happened that two armed parties arrayed themselves against each other in the battle of Shelbyville. Brown<sup>50</sup> estimates the number of combatants on each side at from 150 to 200. Others put the number as high as 400. There might have been that many, as they had gathered from all parts of the two counties in which this feud existed. Some authorities, Brown among them, leave the impression that there was no fight between the two parties; while others, Miss

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50. History of Texas, II, 296.

Atterbury among them, say that a fight actually took place, and that over a hundred men were killed.<sup>51</sup>

By this time President Houston had taken cognizance of the state of affairs in these east Texas counties and had ordered General Smith to Shelbyville with 500 militia. He himself rushed to the scene of action. It seems that the battle was still going on when he arrived. He called for a conference between the leaders of the two parties. At this conference, he earnestly told them that the laws of Texas must be obeyed, that taking human life must stop; that he wished to accomplish all of this without bloodshed, if he could; but that he meant to stop it, regardless of the cost. The conference had the desired effect. The malcontents agreed to drop matters, disbanded, and went home. Thus ended the two organizations in Harrison and Shelby Counties.

McFadden and his accomplices had fled from their hiding place, pursued by the sheriff and his posse. They were soon surprised, and agreed to return peacefully, if allowed a public trial before the entire citizenship of the county, at which the majority was to rule. This was granted, and the prisoners were brought to Shelbyville. The people of the county by this time were tired of bloodshed and lawlessness and

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51. It is the general impression in this section that a fight actually took place.

unanimously voted for hanging. Bailey McFadden, due to his youth, was the only one to escape the noose.<sup>52</sup>

Criminals of all kinds were meted out the same measure of justice, in Harrison, as well as in Shelby County, and soon, those hardened criminals who could not bring themselves to be law-abiding citizens left the country. At this period in the history of the Harrison County court system, there is a noted change, with Judge Mills on the bench. The court records show that murderers, thieves, assaulters, in fact all law breakers were brought to justice.

The development of transportation.--Transportation of passengers in the early days was accomplished by means of stage coaches. By 1860, Marshall had stage connection with Jefferson, Daingerfield, Mt. Pleasant and Clarksville, Tyler, and Shreveport, with fares ranging from \$2.50 to \$14.50.<sup>53</sup> Freight was carried by means of ox-freight lines, which, in general, followed the line of stage coaches that led to markets--that is to Jefferson and Shreveport. Freighting by means of the ox wagon was a very slow process, as the oxen moved along at a leisurely pace, and added to this was the almost impassable condition of the roads.<sup>54</sup> The cost

52. Frontier Times, I, 20.

53. Texas Republican, March 16, 1861.

54. Before the opening of roads, Mr. Hope, mentioned above, upon being questioned as to the condition of the roads when his family moved into this county in 1849, said that they were so poor that one could almost look back at the end of a day's travel and see where he had camped the night before.

of transportation was prohibitive. However, as the county became settled, "freighting" became one of the permanent occupations of its people and furnished employment to a number of Harrison County settlers.

Freight rates then became cheaper. The customary rate for hauling cotton to one of the lake points, about 21 miles distant, was \$1.50 to \$1.75 per bale. This figure amounted to about twenty cents per ton for each 100 miles, which was a great deal higher than that of present day freight rates.

In the days of "freighters", Texas was divided into five trade districts, each of which was tributary to one or more seaports or trade centers.<sup>55</sup> Harrison County being located in that district stretching north from Shelby County to the Red River and west as far as Dallas and Fort Worth, had as its ports or trade centers, Jefferson and Shreveport. Before the building of railroads, the former was the largest trade center in northeast Texas, and next to Galveston, the most important port in Texas. In 1870, the population of this town was 12,000; now it is about 2,000. The little river steamers could not compete with the "iron horse."

Like the rest of the west, Harrison County early became interested in the building of railroads. The first evidence of this interest is an article printed

55. Potts, Railroad Transportation in Texas, pp. 17 ff.

in the Texas Republican for May 26, 1849. The mention of the railroad was incidental, the main object of the editorial being to bring about improvement in waterways. The article is interesting because of the arguments advanced to meet objections to the building of railroads. That part relative to railroads is quoted in full:

...This done, we may properly consider the propriety of constructing a railroad from the Lake to some convenient and healthy point--say Marshall. We are not prepared to give the cost of this enterprise. However, we will suppose the road to be sixteen miles long, or five thousand one hundred and twenty rods; that of grading will cost \$2.50 per rod; and that the railing, metaling, etc., will cost \$36.00 per rod. The cost of this will be about \$100,000 upon this basis. But it is objected that there would be nothing to do; that the capital would be idle; that stock would not pay dividends, etc., The fallacy of this position will at once be evident, when it is considered that the road may require three years to be completed; that if it were known to be certain that the road would be in operation in three years from this date, this fact alone would cause the agricultural interests of this and the counties of Rusk, Cass, Panola, Upshur, Smith and Cherokee, to be increased to an extent in that time to afford transportation of 100,000 bales of cotton besides a considerable increase in other adjacent counties whose interest would depend upon the road. Twelve and a half cents per pound on 100,000 bales would be 12 $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent upon the investment, and back freight would pay as much more, which added would be 25 per cent--a very fine profit--and this the first year of its operation. The resources of the counties dependent upon it, when fully realized, would be at least five times more, which would give an increase in proportion to this advancement. We will not at this time pursue the subject any further hoping that these remarks may awaken reflection, and call forth the opinions of some at least much more experienced than ourself.

The above article, and probably others like it, seem to have borne fruit, for we read in the American Sketch Book<sup>56</sup> where the first meeting ever held in Harrison County on the subject of railroads was in the court house at Marshall in the fall of 1850. As a result of this meeting, the state legislature that year passed an act incorporating the Vicksburg, Louisiana, and Texas Railroad. This act provided for a road in Texas along the thirty-second degree north latitude, and granted a bonus of sixteen sections of land per mile. Prior to this, February 7, 1850, the Marshall Railway and Plank Road Company had been chartered.<sup>57</sup> This railroad was to begin at Marshall and extend to any point on the Louisiana line that might be considered best for extension to the Red River, or Caddo Lake. Shares of stock were to be sold at \$100 each, each share entitling its holder to one vote. A board of directors of not less than five nor more than eleven was provided for. This board of directors was to elect a president. No person was eligible for a directorship, unless he owned at least five shares of stock.

Once attention was called to the need of railroads, there was no lack of railroad projects. On February 14,

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56. American Sketch Book, Vol. II, p. 224.

57. Texas Almanac, 1857, p. 81.

1852, the state legislature chartered another Harrison County railroad. In that year, the Texas-Louisiana Railroad was chartered. This road was to have commenced on the east border of Harrison County and go by way of Marshall and Austin to El Paso. Construction was to begin within five years, and at least twenty miles was to be completed before six years had elapsed. Eight sections of land per mile were granted, only on condition that construction begin within two years, and that ten miles be completed within three years.<sup>58</sup>

Only two days after the above project was chartered, the Southern Pacific Railroad, the beginning of the present Texas Pacific System, was also chartered.<sup>59</sup> This road was originally chartered under the name of the Vicksburg and El Paso Railroad, or The Texas Western. The name was changed to the Southern Pacific by an Act of the legislature approved August 16, 1856. In 1853,<sup>60</sup> the Marshall Railroad Company was chartered. This road was to connect Marshall with the New Orleans, Texas Pacific Railroad. According to the terms of its charter, the construction on the road must begin within five years, and twenty miles must have been completed within six years. Eight sections

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58. Idem.

59. Gammel, Laws of Texas, V, 529.

60. Texas Almanac, 1858, p. 68, gives Feb. 7, 1851 as the date of the granting of the charter.

of land were to be granted if construction were begun within four years, and ten miles completed. William Evans, William T. Scott, H. L. Berry, P. Murrah, M. J. Hall, T. A. Patillo, Joseph Taylor, all of Marshall, were the promoters mentioned in the act. The road was to have a right of way three hundred feet wide, which could be taken without the consent of the owner, if paid for. The freight rates were not to exceed fifty cents per hundred pounds per hundred miles. The act provided for special safety precautions; the company was pledged to provide good brakes on the rear cars, and a bell of at least thirty-five pounds weight, or a whistle. One of these had to be put into operation at least eighty rods before approaching a crossing, and T or U rails were to be used.<sup>61</sup>

In 1854, the Sabine and Sulphur Springs Railroad was chartered. This road was to commence on the line of the Vicksburg and El Paso Railroad at some point between Marshall and the Sabine River, pass through Marshall, then to Gilmer, then to Sulphur Springs. It was to receive eight sections of land per mile, if twenty miles of track were completed within five years.<sup>62</sup>

Of all of the above projects, only the Southern Pacific ever laid any rails. Work on this road was

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61. Idem.

62. Ibid., p. 69.

begun at Marshall in 1855.<sup>63</sup> By February 10, 1858, it had completed its twenty miles of construction. The next year another seven and a half were added. It seems that the road was complete as far east as Swanson's Landing on Caddo Lake before the outbreak of the Civil War.<sup>64</sup> This then became the main port of entry for Harrison County. Little work was done on the road during the Civil War. A later chapter will discuss at further length this project.

Some interesting accounts are told of the early days of Harrison County's first railroad. Miss Alma Burba, in an account of these early railroad days says:

Steamboat days at Swanson's Landing, a ride behind an ox-drawn locomotive, deer hunts, the period when the City of Jefferson was the largest trading center in Texas, are all within the memory of Mr. J. M. Winston, who now lives on East Houston Avenue (Marshall).  
...Mr. Winston is the only person he knows of now living who ever road on the Swanson Railway. There was a regular station at Swanson's Landing for this train. The engine called the "Jay Bird", was often unable to pull its train of flat cars and one coach over some of the steep grades on the route. For this emergency, Peter Swanson, the founder of Swanson's Landing, kept three yoke of steers to pull the engine up the hill. A signal of short and long whistles told the keeper of the steers at which one of the points on the half mile of track the engine was stuck. A tremendous effort was made as

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63. William T. Scott was President.

64. Harrison County and Marshall pledged a subsidy of \$300,000. This reference was furnished by H. G. Hall, Hallsville, Texas, a member of one of Harrison County's oldest pioneer families.

the engine approached each one of these hazardous places to get enough momentum to carry it across. If ever the locomotive could reach the top, it could easily coast down.

The train tried to run every day. Supplies were carried from Caddo Lake to Marshall as regularly as the train could be run. At the water's edge, the locomotive was turned for its return trip to Marshall on a wooden turntable.<sup>65</sup>

Another article in the Marshall News-Messenger at a later date gives other information:

Engineers, firemen, conductors and brakemen who pilot the trains over well-equipped roads of today, with their perfect organization for speed and comfort, would soon find themselves climbing trees if they were suddenly reverted to a western railway of fifty years ago.

In those tempestuous days, passenger engines and coaches only were equipped with airbrakes, and these were sadly out of time. Diminutive signal oil lamps were used in the engine headlights, and on nights that were favorable, engineers could perhaps see fifty feet ahead of their trains. Old fashioned cast iron drawheads that at an unexpected moments had a sneakish way of poking their rusty necks from the end of the cars, reminding one of a ponderous South Sea turtle slowly going through with its daily dozen, were in use. Roughly cast links and pins ✓ coupled the cars together and were known as "finger snappers." The engines used--many of them equipped for burning wood, and with an antemundane appearance--were the "hand-me-downs" of Eastern roads. Smokestacks that resembled gigantic black diamonds adorned the tops of the diminutive boilers, from which belched volumes of black greasy smutch, heavily charged with red hot cinders. At the end of a run, it was hard to distinguish the conductor or brakeman from the porter, and as the passengers alighted, the panorama assumed the atmosphere of the arrival

65. "The Swanson Railroad", Marshall News-Messenger, March 2, 1930.

in town of the Georgia Minstrels, and train-men and traveling men could be "spotted" on the streets by a glance at their cinder-smutched faces that resisted the best soap and brush, elbow and other greases.

Freight trains approaching stations in those days did so with a decided uncertainty as to just where they would stop. When in about three miles of the station, the engineer would broadcast the long drawn-out approach blast from the engine whistle, ending, in a hollow mournful sound, then in rapid succession, he would begin shrieking brake signals. The rear brakeman would set the caboose brakes, then appear on top of the train together with the other two "screws" each one equipped with a seasoned hickory club, and commence screwing down the brakes. The brakes on a car here and there would be out of commission, and the cars would be seen to buckle up violently, and the train would soon take on the appearance of a gigantic boa constrictor going through the paroxysms of swallowing a goat. With good luck, the train would be brought to a dead stop somewhere within a half a mile of the depot.<sup>66</sup>

The press.--The first newspaper established within the bounds of Harrison County was the Texas Republican, a weekly paper, published at Marshall, which put out its first issue in 1849. This paper under the date of May 26, 1849, gives the following introductory statement:

We present to the public, today, the first number of the Texas Republican. With due modesty, we make our editorial debut, and commend ourself to the kindness of an intelligent community, with whom we are about to become associated in our new vocation. We trust that we duly appreciate the situation and shall aim to be worthy of the favorable consideration of a generous people.

The character of a newspaper is more important, perhaps than is generally imagined.

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66. Marshall News-Messenger, April 5, 1930.

If conducted with ability, it will give tone to public sentiment, and concentration and direction to public opinion; inspire a love of intelligence; diffuse morality and virtue, and keep alive a spirit of patriotism, whenever it circulates.

One prospectus, issued recently, promised a newspaper political in its character. We are a Democrat. We shall speak freely our political preferences for principles, measures, and men, avoiding unprofitable controversy, and security.

We fully appreciate the institutions of the South, and are of those who believe that their perpetuity depends on a candid rebuke of any attempted encroachments upon them.

Next to national interests, we will consider those of our state--our public debt, our lands, our laws, improvements, etc.,--and, to the citizens of our district and county, we will, on all proper occasions, make the Republican a medium through which they may expect information regarding their interests.

As our exchanges will be ample, we shall be able to afford to our readers as good a variety of miscellaneous reading as any paper in the South West.

By 1850, this newspaper was found in the home of nearly every family in this vicinity, and its influence was being felt throughout the state. At this date, its circulation was 1,050.<sup>67</sup> It continued to be printed until the latter part of 1869 when it suspended publication.

In addition to the Texas Republican there was another newspaper being published in Harrison County in 1850. This was the Star State Patriot,<sup>68</sup> a weekly

67. Schedule 6, Social Statistics, 1850, transcript.

68. Idem.

political and agricultural newspaper, which had a circulation of 600. Thus we see that by 1850, Harrison County had two strong newspapers to help mould the minds of its people in a political, social, and educational way.

Next to the Texas Republican, and a rival of it, the most important paper published in Harrison County during these early years was the Harrison County Flag. This paper made its appearance in 1858, ran for three years, suspended publication in 1861, resumed again in 1865, and was permanently suspended in 1869. In 1860, it had a larger circulation than that of the Texas Republican.<sup>69</sup> This paper, which was published weekly, was of a political nature, but in contrast with the Texas Republican, a Democratic paper, it claimed no affiliations with any party.

Two or three other newspapers in Harrison County made their appearance in these early days, but usually suspended circulation after a short time. The Marshall Weekly, with William Windwestock as editor, came into existence in 1860. It was strongly Republican and was established for the sole purpose of aiding in Lincoln's election.<sup>70</sup> After the election it suspended publication. The East Texas Bulletin was published from 1865 to 1870.

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- 69. Harrison County Flag, 1,200; Texas Republican, 1,000, Schedule 6, Social Statistics, 1860, transcript.
- 70. It evidently did not function very well, if one is to judge by the number of votes Lincoln received in Harrison County.

This newspaper was non-political. The Marshall Reporter, with a Mr. Kennedy in the editorial chair, and the Tri-Weekly Herald, with Mr. Hamments and a Mr. Sloan as co-editors, were the only other newspapers of this period in the history of Harrison County.<sup>71</sup>

Politics in Harrison County before the Civil War.-- The early settlers of Harrison County, like all western settlers, particularly the planters, took a keen interest in the political questions of the day. Even before 1850, the greatest interest of the pioneer planter was in politics. No political problems were too hard for him to solve, and he meant to make his influence felt both with his fellow-men and at the polls. Consequently, Harrison County political leaders, like those of other counties, early formed the habit of calling the voters of the county together at rallies to discuss their political, social, and economic problems. These meetings were nearly always well attended, and there was no lack of men qualified to speak on such subjects as might have been of interest to the people of the county. Not only did the pioneer fathers meet to discuss local problems, but they assayed to meet and discuss state and national problems as well.

Three state and national problems of interest to the people of Harrison County stand out during the period

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71. Sketches Drawn from Marshall and Vicinity, p. 74.

between the creation of the county and secession. The first of these, and perhaps foremost, was the annexation of Texas to the United States. During the days when this question was a problem, which national politicians hesitated to solve, it is safe to say that these early settlers of Harrison County were having their meetings and passing resolutions in favor of annexation. A second problem which seemed greatly to stir up the people of Harrison County was the Compromise of 1850. Even at this early date, there were rumblings, growing louder as the years passed, which were finally blended in the noise and turmoil of a civil war. Let the Texas Republican voice the sentiment of Harrison County and East Texas on the Compromise and some other troublesome questions:

In another column we present our readers with a synopsis of the anxiously looked-for report of the committee of the thirteen. We frankly confess that we had looked forward to the labors of this committee with what we conceived was a well grounded hope of a happy result. When we looked over the names of the committee, and found it composed of such men as Clay, Cass, Dickinson, Mangum, Berrien, and others, we felt a pleasing assurance that some plan would be submitted which would at least save the honor of the South. We submit to all candid men how far our expectations have been realized. We ask if the report of the committee is entitled even to the name of compromise. It is such a compromise as the wolf dictates to the lamb. It takes from the South the last plank in the platform on which she stood. It denies her every substantial relief that she asked as indispensable to the enjoyment of her rights, and in exchange for this, attempts to blind her eyes to the utter degradation with gilded shadows. In a word, the report is the Clay resolutions, which met the unqualified disapprobation of the entire southern delegation in Congress new-vamped and varnished over.

The Monstrous California fraud is legalized, and the South effectually shut out from the whole of that country and its extraordinary mineral wealth; and the slave trade is prohibited in the District of Columbia--the latter being the first item in the programme of abolition agitation. And what is granted the South in return for these two measures, the former of which is the violation of the Constitution, and the latter derogation of the plighted faith of the government? 72

On July 6, 1850, the people of Harrison County were called together in a public meeting. The Compromise of 1850 was the main topic under discussion, Dr. Wm. Evans was chairman of this meeting and C. M. Adams, secretary; ex-Governor J. Pinckey Henderson was the principal speaker. He spoke in direct and strong terms of the aggression of the North upon the rights of the South, and especially of the disposition of its politicians to disregard the treaty of annexation, which, he said, had recently been so manifest. He denounced the so-called compromise of the Senate committee; calling it a direct attack upon the dearest rights of the South. He considered the proposition to purchase a title from Texas to a portion of her territory as unjust, and insulting to her, accompanied as it was, with a threat to dismember her if she refused to accept it. The time had come for united action by the South; nothing but union, firmness, and prompt action could by any possibility shield the constitution from the mad and fanatical attacks of the enemies

72. Texas Republican, June 30, 1850.

of southern institutions. The slave holding states had a right to call upon Texas to stand by them in resisting the war now made by non-slave holding states against the institution of slavery; many of them had declared in her favor in regard to the boundary dispute, and would stand up for her as long as she remained true to herself. Texas ought not, and could not sell any of her territory, which might thereby be appropriated to the purposes of abolition, without degradation and imminent danger to her dearest interests. At the conclusion of the speech the chairman appointed a committee which reported resolutions favoring the stand taken by the Nashville Convention.

Under the date of August 17, 1850, the Texas Republican has the following to say under the title of "The Defeat of the Compromise": "We rejoice at the defeat of the compromise. Every debate upon it demonstrated the injustice of its provisions, and stamped it, so far as the South was concerned, as a work of abomination. By it everything was surrendered and nothing gained."

Although opposed to the Compromise of 1850, sentiment of the county built up by the Texas Republican favored the proposed extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean. The above article goes on:

The issue will be formed, and it remains to be seen how far the North is willing to go to preserve the Union; and whether the recreant members from the South, with whom the past scheme of fraud upon their own section originated, will support a

measure that has at heart the political equality of the states. We refer to the Missouri Compromise. This will now be brought forward; and if it is defeated, there is but one alternative left the South---submission, or disunion. If this measure, which surrenders up two-thirds of the territory to the North, magnanimously offered in a spirit of conciliation and compromise, is defeated, we may well despair the Republic.

This proposal, Texas Senators favoring it, was defeated. The Texas Republican has the following to say in regard to the defeat:

The vote for extending the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific ocean was rejected in the Senate on the 6th inst. It will be seen that the hypocritical friends of the South (Cass and Dickinson, as Clay did on a previous occasion) voted against it. The disguise has been torn from them, and they now assume their true characters. Two years ago, Mr. Douglas made a similar move for thus extending the Missouri Compromise. He now votes against it. This shows the progress of fanaticism and what justice the South is to expect. 73

It is well known that one part of the Compromise of 1850 proposed to pay Texas \$10,000,000 for her claim to the territory included within the Mexican session. Under the head of the Pearce Bill, this proposal finally passed congress. On the passage of this bill, a call was issued for the citizens of the county to meet at the court house to discuss what action the county would take relative to the matter. The call was accompanied by the following challenge:

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73. Ibid., August 31, 1850.

A public meeting of the citizens of Harrison County will be held in Marshall, on MONDAY WEEK, the 30th inst., to take into consideration our public affairs. It is expected that Senator J. F. Taylor and Representative J. M. Clough will address the people. Other speeches will also be delivered.

It is to be hoped that every citizen of the county can afford to give ONE DAY to his country in these perilous times. The questions involved affect vitally the honor and interest of the State, and the integrity of the Union. Every man must now take the question home to himself. He can no longer be indifferent to the issue, if he loves his country, and cherishes her institutions; he cannot be silent unless he would be willing to see the State disgraced, without raising his voice to avert it. Let every person make it a point to come. <sup>74</sup>

In the meantime, before the meeting took place, Colonel Loughery, the owner and editor of the Texas Republican came out with a stinging editorial in denunciation of the Pearce Bill. Something of how the citizens of this county, as well as those of a great many other counties of Texas, felt in regard to the matter may be gathered from the following quotation:

Pearce's Bill, which has just passed Congress, proposes to surrender up about ninety millions of acres of our territory to free soilism; enough with New Mexico added to make three states. It will open upon us a frontier of nearly seven hundred miles in extent a portion of which, 165 miles in breadth is thirty miles farther south than Marshall. Let any man open his map and contemplate this vast sacrifice and its consequences. What will that territory remaining between the 32nd and 36th degrees of latitude be worth in Texas, when this surrender is made? Slaves cannot be held within it; it is necessarily bound

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74. Ibid., September 21, 1850.

to be freesoil. When this bill is received by Texas, she will be hemmed in on all sides except the Louisiana and Arkansas portions of her boundary by a border of free-soil States.<sup>75</sup>

The citizens of Harrison County, in their called meeting, passed resolutions condemning the alienation of the New Mexico territory.

On October 5, the Texas Republican announced the passage by congress of a bill, (part of the Compromise) abolishing slave trade in the District of Columbia. This newspaper in an editorial under the above date represents this as the last act in the "present contemplated series of aggression against the South."

After the Compromise of 1850 had passed congress, that part of it applying to Texas had to be ratified by the Texas state legislature. In the meantime, Texas was in the throes of an election. The question before the people was the Pearce Bill. Should Texas accept the "ten million dollar bribe", or reject it? The people of this county were thoroughly aroused on this subject. All over the country numerous speaking dates were arranged. In the last issue of the Texas Republican before the election, Colonel Loughery issued the following call:

To The Polls!! To The Polls!!

Fellow-citizens! Now is the time for action; let no man hang back. Let us entreat you to lay aside all personal feelings, and to vote for those who support the honor and integrity of the State. The question is purely one of principle, and pri-

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75. Ibid., August 28, 1850.

vate friendships and animosities should be laid aside. Let every man be able to say "If the State goes wrong, I, at least, have done my duty." The candidates in favor of Pearce's Bill are running the question, and will claim a triumph, if they are elected. Let us again entreat you to stand up to the question, and vote out your political sentiments. <sup>76</sup>

It seems that Texas as a whole did not hold the same views on the matter as Harrison and other East Texas Counties held. The people of the state voted by a comfortable majority to accept the ten million. This doubtless was due to the fact that at this time the institution of slavery had barely gotten out of the first tier of counties on the eastern border of the state. However, Texas, as a whole voted in favor of accepting the ten million, and after a parting shot on the part of the Texas Republican the people of Harrison County took no further interest in the matter.

Prior to, and closely related to, the Compromise of 1850, what was known in Texas as the Santa Fe Crisis enjoyed a period of keen interest in Harrison County. This crisis arose over the attempt of Texas to assert its authority over that part of the territory claimed by Texas that is now within the state of New Mexico. The United States government having formulated a treaty with Mexico, resisted and prevented this assertion of authority. The cry of foul play went out all over Texas. The planters

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76. Ibid., October 26, 1850.

of Harrison County, ever alive to any actual or reported aggression on the part of the North, got into action. The Texas Republican, their representative in politics, opened its attack on this new aggression in the following language:

The Crisis has at length arrived when we can no longer be indifferent to our rights, or insensible to the dangers with which we are menaced. As will be seen in this day's paper, that portion of Texas known as the Santa Fe District, has, in conjunction, with New Mexico, formed summarily a State Government, and, ere this, has no doubt sent on a Congressional delegation to Washington. The object of this movement, as we understand it, is to throw the whole matter into the hands of the northern majority, where it is hoped that in the end this fraud will be sustained. 77

A public meeting was promptly called which passed resolutions condemning such action on the part of the North. The matter was finally settled by the Compromise of 1850.

By this time, the question of slavery was overshadowing every thing else. Each move made in congress was regarded with suspicion by the Southern planters and often considered as a fresh aggression. From 1850 to 1860, there was hardly an issue of the Texas Republican that did not place in glaring headlines some new "aggression".

The period in the history of Harrison County from 1860 until many years after the Civil War is a difficult one to describe, and at the same time, give justice to two conflicting theories. No attempt will be made to give both sides of questions which came up during that period,

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77. Ibid., July 13, 1850.

because according to the viewpoint of the people of Harrison County during those years, there were not two sides--there was only one, and that one was theirs.

There were more slaves in Harrison County in 1860 than in any other county in Texas. At that time the slave population was 8,784; the white population was considerably less.<sup>78</sup> Not only this, but about three-fifths of the heads of families were slave owners. Some owned only one or two slaves, while others, like Colonel Scott, owned hundreds. It was quite natural that the people of Harrison County should take the viewpoint they did upon the great question which now began to cast its shadow up on the land. By the time another decade had passed, the differences between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery group had become so intensified, and their attacks on each other so bitter, that war was possibly the only recourse.

A fair index of the attitude of the people of Harrison County may be found in the Texas Republican. This paper became the champion of the planter class, and outspoken in its denunciation of those who saw things differently. One of the strongest indictments of the abolitionists is found in the issue of November 16, 1850. Any language other than that of the editor would not put the force and spirit in it necessary to portray the real feel-

78. Eighth Census of the United States, Population, p. 481.

ings of the people of this county. The title of the Article is: "The Wrongs of the South." Under this caption the following indictments are listed:

1. The north has stolen from the South negroes to the value of between 20 and 30 millions of dollars, and the annual depredations of several years past is estimated at half a million of dollars.

2. When the owners of these negroes go to the North to claim them, as they have the right to do under the constitution, they find there, in nearly all the states, laws, making it penal for any one to aid them, and mobs to rescue their property from their possession, to maltreat, annoy, and assassinate them.

3. The pulpit, the press, and the school-room of the North, are all engaged, and have been for years, in training the public mind to the conviction, that slavery is an evil, moral, social, and political; that it must not be extended; and that it shall be utterly extirpated so soon as it can be, under the forms of the constitution.

4. To carry out these purposes, organized societies exist everywhere in the North, who send their petitions to Congress and who permit none that they can hinder, to occupy seats therein, but those who will execute their plans.

5. Hence, too, it is, that with the bribe of ten millions of dollars in one hand and the sword in the other, our free soil government has plotted to dismember Texas; and to convert a part of her domain devoted to slavery into free soil territory.

6. Hence it is, that the South, by a stupendous fraud, has been driven from California and all participation in any of the other territories acquired from Mexico; and that hence it is, that Congress by its late act abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia, has asserted the right and evinced its determination to abolish the institution altogether.

The article speaks for itself. How truly it represented the viewpoint of the people of Harrison County may be seen when, in 1861, they were called upon to vote on

the question as to whether Texas should secede from the Union.

All through the decade between 1850 and 1860, charges and counter charges were made. Matters instead of becoming better, as some had dared hope, became decidedly worse, until by 1860, only the election of Lincoln was needed to break the camel's back. Never before had an election, local, state, or national, aroused such keen interest. Never before did the Harrison County planter and farmer read the news of the day more religiously, or attend public meetings more diligently to hear the problems of the day discussed. There were two things every man in Harrison County who went to the polls in 1860 knew, or believed. In the first place, he knew that Lincoln's position on slavery, "the house divided against itself theory," made him unacceptable as the president of the United States. In the second place, every man who cast his ballot for candidates opposed to Lincoln believed that if Lincoln were elected, secession would be the result. The political leaders of the county, by means of a publicity campaign, brought about this state of affairs. Each voter was politically educated, so to speak, before he cast his ballot.

As the campaign progressed, one other thing became evident to the people of Harrison County, and that was that

they did not want Douglas as president. He was not strong enough in his convictions to carry the banner of their party into an election. They considered him a "fence-rider". Breckinridge was different. He made no quibble about stating where he stood on slavery. The political leaders of the county, convinced of this, saw the necessity of centering upon one man - Breckinridge. Douglas' whole political history was then aired before the people, and by the time this was over, he had few friends in the county. Douglas, it was said, dodged the vote on the compromise measures of 1850; that, being a candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1856, and being defeated by Buchanan, bolted after the election, and made war on his party friends and upon his successful competitor, the Democratic president; that when Kansas asked to be admitted into the union as a slave state, he stood up in the Senate with Seward, Sumner and others, and said "Keep her out; don't admit Kansas as a slave state"; that Douglas thought squatter sovereignty a more certain means to exclude slavery than the Wilmot proviso; that he tried to graft it on to the Cincinnati platform (1856) by straining the constitution, and was not willing to give it up when the Supreme Court decided it unconstitutional; that he voted for the Wilmot proviso; that when Lincoln, the Black Republican competitor of Douglas, pressed him at Freeport, and he

saw free soil and senatorial honors on the one side, and true democracy and defeat on the other, he bent the supple hinges of his knees to free soil and turned his back to democracy and said: "The people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution."

Douglas had no chance for a comeback. After the above indictments became generally known, he was politically dead in the county. An attempt was made by the Bell supporters in this county to secure a Douglas-Bell fusion ticket, so that when the election was held, the people of this county had two choices, they either voted for Breckinridge, or they voted for the Bell-Douglas fusion. There was no Lincoln ticket. Eleven hundred went to the polls that day and voted. How momentous the occasion was, and how seriously each voter in the county took the matter may be gathered from an editorial in the Texas Republican just before the election:

To the Polls! This is the last issue of our paper previous to the election. But one duty remains, and that is for the people of the state to cast their votes. The evidence has been submitted, the argument presented; the great jury of the country has heard both sides, and nothing now remains but the enunciation of their verdict.

Never has there been an election in this country involving such momentous consequences. Disguised as it may be, and however unwelcome the reflection, there is but one issue in this canvass. Either the Southern States are to have their Constitutional rights and their equality

in the Union recognized, or they are to be told, that henceforth they are to be regarded and treated as inferiors.

In such a contest, we would ask every citizen, how are you going to vote? <sup>79</sup>

A final check up in the vote revealed that Breckinridge had carried the county over the fusion ticket by a majority of 295 votes.<sup>80</sup> Lincoln did not get a single vote. The election over, there were several days of feverish suspense. The people of the county adopted the watchful waiting policy. Colonel Loughery came out on November 17 with the following editorial which seems to have correctly expressed the attitude of the people of Harrison County at that time:

The great question that is agitating the public mind of the South is, what shall be done in case Lincoln is elected? The general sentiment in Texas so far as we have been able to learn, is against submission to a Black Republican administration. It is a sentiment that will grow deeper and stronger in the popular mind, as the subject is more thoroughly discussed. Such a submission, in our judgment, involves the loss of everything, and if consummated will end in the prostration of the Southern States.

79. Texas Republican, November 3, 1860.

80. Ibid., November 10, 1860.

Please note - page 140 is missing.

the following resolutions:

Whereas, the platform of the party which has elected Mr. Lincoln to the presidency is hostile to the rights of the slaveholding states, denying as it does to them their equality of rights in the Union, and Whereas, it is desirable that the action of the people of the Southern States in the premises should be uniform, therefore, be it Resolved, That the people of Harrison County be requested to meet at the courthouse on Saturday, the first day of December next, to consult upon the ways and means necessary to protect our rights as co-equals in the United States of America.<sup>1</sup>

Similar meetings were held throughout the State of Texas. At each of these meetings the same resolutions were passed. Not a county from the Sabine to the Rio Grande voted in favor of submission. Petition after petition came crowding in upon the governor to convene the legislature. In the meantime, there was no proverbial lull before the storm, the people were for action, the storm was on. Still, Governor Houston, who was opposed to secession, hesitated to call the legislature together. This resulted in another round of public meetings. The assembly of citizens of Harrison County which convened on November 24, 1860, just a week after the first meeting, was the largest and most imposing ever held in the county. John B. Webster was elected chairman, and he spoke as follows:

In my mind, my friends, there is only one alternative--resistance or submission--

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1. Texas Republican, November 24, 1860.

defend our rights as men, or basely surrender them to the aggressor. For months it has been known that this crisis would be upon us. We have had time for calm, serious reflection. I have given it my solemn and most serious thought. I am not ashamed to say it--I profess to be a Christian--I have made it a subject of prayerful consideration; and before God, and with a full sense of the high responsibility encountered, I say that the South should withdraw from the Union.<sup>2</sup>

At this meeting, resolutions were drawn up and adopted, first, calling for another meeting to take place on December 1; second, stating that the election of Abraham Lincoln as president of the United States by a "sectional majority" was a violation of the spirit of the constitution, and should be resisted by the southern states; third, suggesting the calling of a state convention at an early date for the purpose of taking such action "as may seem necessary to secure our rights."

No better description of what took place at this meeting can be given than an editorial written by the editor of the Texas Republican:

I had not the pleasure of participating in the meeting of your citizens on last Saturday. I saw the vast assemblage just before adjournment, and witnessed with joy<sup>3</sup> the union of both of the political parties of the county, upon one common purpose, resistance to the inauguration of Black Republican rule over us. It was a public sacrifice of party prejudice upon the altar of patriotism. The admirer of Clay, and the admirer of Calhoun--

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2. Ibid., December 1, 1860.

3. Whigs and Democrats.

the supporter of Bell, and the supporter of Breckenridge--counseled together and agreed, that until relieved from danger, they would know only their country and own allegiance only to her interests.

Webster and Parker, side by side, presided over the meeting; and Holcomb and Ward and Perry, and Taylor agreed in the committee room. Harrison County has achieved much. She has resolved that so far as in her lies, she will not submit to Black Republican rule.<sup>4</sup>

By this time, the people of this county were aroused to a feverish heat. It looked as if the evident desires of the people of the state might be circumvented by the opposition of a governor who was opposed to secession. Houston was still determined not to call the state legislature together. People were in a furious state of mind. Things which had previously been overlooked, were now brought up and given a public airing. Perhaps one of the best indications of the intolerance of the people of this county at opposition was in the so-called Whitmore episode.

G. W. Whitmore was the representative of this county to the state legislature. During the political campaign, and in those days when it was not definitely known what stand Harrison County would take in case of Lincoln's election, he was said to have made the remark that, "If Abraham Lincoln is constitutionally elected president of the United States, and on that

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4. Texas Republican, December 1, 1860.

account any southern state should secede, I would sustain, or be on the side of the government.<sup>5</sup> No one paid any great attention to the remark at the time it was made, but in those days which followed, when every man suspected his neighbors and friends until they had proven themselves, the matter was reopened and became the subject of numerous newspaper articles, street discussions, and petitions. Sentiment at this time was strongly opposed to the remark. Whitmore was asked to resign, and when he failed to do so, a public assembly of the citizens of the county requested the legislature to demand the resignation of the recalcitrant representative. This object was finally accomplished.

It soon became apparent that the governor would be forced to call the legislature together or else resign. The people of Harrison County did not wait for the assembling of the legislators and the consequent calling of a constitutional convention, but met at the courthouse Saturday, December 1, 1860, and proceeded to elect delegates to the state convention which they felt certain would soon be called. W. B. Hill was asked to address the meeting, and he stated that he was in favor of prompt resistance; that in his opinion the governor should call the legislature to-

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5. Ibid., December 8, 1860. Purported to have been said at Jonesville, October 27, 1860.

gether, and that this body should call a state convention, at which session the state should secede from the union. At this meeting, W. T. Scott, W. B. Hill, A. Pope, and Gill McKay, were nominated to represent Harrison County at the state convention. It was at this meeting that a resolution was adopted requesting the legislature to expel Whitmore from his seat in the lower house. The resolution calling for such action stated that "the sentiments promulgated by him are much better adopted to a northern than to a southern constituency."<sup>6</sup>

Louis T. Wigfall, one of the United States Senators from Texas, was a native of Harrison County. It was quite natural that the people of this county should be interested in knowing how he felt on the matter of secession, and so when it was called to the attention of the editor of the Texas Republican that Wigfall had written a letter to Judge Leslie A. Thompson, he asked Judge Thompson for permission to print the contents of the letter. This was readily granted. The letter follows:

My Dear Sir:--Though you make no allusion to the present political condition of the country, I take it for granted that you feel some curiosity on the subject.

The propositions to settle the question by further amendments, amount to nothing, and are intended to produce division among us. The North will not yield an inch. They will

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6. Texas Republican, December 8, 1860.

not give us what we are now entitled to. They will not agree to leave us what we have. How idle then to create a division among ourselves, by discussing what we would be willing to take, when nothing has been or will be offered. It is a weak device of the enemy. Butler, of Virginia, is a Union saver of the most unmilitated sort, and so is Powell, of Kentucky. They care not when the axe falls, so they are not permitted to see it. Their hope is to get up in Congress a debate as to what should satisfy the South, and continue it till the elections in Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi have taken place, and in the meantime get up a discussion before the people of those states as to what they would be satisfied with, and have thus the active party defeated. The entire isolation of South Carolina is now the game for which they are playing. Each one of them knows that the constitution as it stands, would not be now ratified in a single northern state, with our construction of it.

In spite of all the pressure brought to bear, Houston, still refrained from calling the legislature together. Finally, exasperated by his opposition, a plan for a state convention, recommended by sixty-one leaders of the state, including such men as the lieutenant governor, judges of the Supreme Court, and others prominent in Texas politics, was drawn up and sent in circular form to every county in the state. All of the leading newspapers of the state supported the plan. Houston, seeing the hopelessness of further delay, finally called the legislature together. This body ordered an election of delegates to a state convention to meet in Austin the fourth Monday of January,

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7. Ibid., January 5, 1861.

1861. Harrison County at once proceeded to elect those men nominated by the assembly held the latter part of November.<sup>8</sup>

When the news of the secession of South Carolina reached Harrison County, great excitement was precipitated. A state had dared to secede from the union; the ice was broken. This news was considered so important as to warrant the calling of another public assembly. This assembly met in Marshall on the first Saturday in January at which meeting the following preamble and resolutions were adopted.

Whereas, We have received reliable intelligence of the secession of the State of South Carolina from the confederation of States heretofore constituting the United States of America, and whereas, we, the people of Harrison County do fully recognize the right of the State of South Carolina to secede from said Union, she being alone responsible to the God of nations for the result of the act.

Therefore, be it resolved, That we do fully concur the justice of the action of the gallant State of South Carolina in withdrawing the powers delegated to the general government of the 23d of May, 1788; we pledge ourselves individually and collectively render all such material aid as may be necessary to support and sustain her in her said action.

Resolved, That the said motives and interests which have prompted the State of South Carolina to withdraw from the Confederacy in like manner exist in other slave holding states, and a common interest and a common safety demand that they also should "do likewise".--

"And if it is to be done  
'Twere well 'twere quickly done."<sup>9</sup>

8. Ibid., December 29, 1860. W.B.Hill, one of the delegates nominated was unable to go, so W.B.Ochiltree was substituted.

9. Ibid., January 5, 1861.

The state convention which met in Austin at the call of the legislature voted in favor of submitting the question of secession to the people. On February 23, 1861, the Texas Republican came out with a clarion call to the citizens of Harrison County to vote. This paper stated in a few words the position of all those people in the Southland who believed in states rights. If there was an exaggeration, such was due to the stress and excitement of the times. The article went on to say that the constitution of this country had been trampled in the dust and destroyed; that an abolition president was about to be inaugurated--a man surrounded by the advocates of John Brown, the proclaimers of the "irrepressible conflict", and the equality of the races; that he and his party were pledged to subjugation, and had threatened the South with the sword should it dare resist. Then came the challenge:

Are you freemen or slaves? Will you consent to live under such a government, and bow down in abject submission to such an administration, or will you take your position, with the citizens of those gallant states that have declared for "secession" and the Constitution of our fathers?

We do not question your fidelity to the principles of free government, or believe that you will fail to prove yourselves worthy sons of illustrious sires. We say, therefore, go to the polls. Let nothing prevent you, and show that Harrison County, among the faithful and true, stands conspicuous for patriotism and united action.<sup>10</sup>

In the face of such a challenge, it was not likely

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10. Texas Republican, February 23, 1861.

that many men would stay home from the polls on March 2. The citizens of the county on this date voted on three questions: first, "for Secession", or "against secession"; second, "for asking G. W. Whitmore to resign as County Representative", or "against asking G. W. Whitmore to resign as County Representative"; third, to elect two delegates to the state convention, then in session, to take the place of two who had been previously elected but had resigned. On the first question, voters of the county by a majority of 822 votes for secession; only 44 votes were registered against this proposal. On the second proposition, by a vote of 706 to 46, G. W. Whitmore was asked by his constituents to resign. On the third, M. J. Hall and E. H. Baxter were elected as delegates to the state convention.<sup>11</sup>

Similar action was then in every other county in the state. Harrison, Shelby, and a few other East Texas Counties were stronger for secession than other counties to the west. The result was, an ordinance of secession passed by the state convention and Texas took her place by the side of her sister states who had preceded her in this act. Houston, because he would not take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy, was forced to resign, and Edward Clark, from Harrison County, the

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11. Ibid., March 9, 1861.

lieutenant governor, took the oath as governor.

The Civil War.--On March 18, the state convention, which was still in session at Austin, passed an ordinance empowering the governor to raise two regiments of soldiers for frontier service. These men were to replace United States troops who were abandoning their posts, and to effectually provide for the military defense of the state. They were to be enlisted for twelve months, if required. Sheriff A. W. Crawford of Harrison County, was appointed enrolling officer of this district. Crawford authorized Samuel J. Richardson to raise a company, and in a short time applications to the number of 110, men had been received from this and adjoining counties.<sup>12</sup> This company, with Richardson as captain, was named the W. P. Lane Rangers, in honor of W. P. Lane, of Marshall. It was the first company to be raised in this section of the state. It was composed of young men mostly between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Just before this company left for duties assigned to it by the state, it was presented with a flag which the ladies of Marshall had made.<sup>13</sup> This flag was presented

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12. Texas Republican, April 6, 1861,

13. The flag was composed of three bars, the middle one being white and the outer two red. In the upper left corner was a blue field with eight stars to represent the seceded states, while on the right was one lone star to represent the "Lone Star State". The motto of the company, "Semper Paratus", was printed on the back of the flag,

to Robert Ross Wright who was the company's color bearer; and who, when he came back from war, brought this tattered flag with him. It remained for many years in the possession of the Wright family, one of its most cherished possessions.

At the time of secession, few people thought that there would be war. As time passed, however, it became more and more apparent that war must come, still the people of the Southland were not alarmed. They had no idea that a war of four years duration, terrible as all wars are, was to follow. They were ready and anxious to meet their foe on the field of battle, if for no other reason than to see them run back home. Something of the attitude of the people of Harrison County in this respect may be gathered from a speech delivered at the Fair Park, on June 22, 1861, by Senator Louis T. Wigfall, now a senator to the Confederate congress.

This speech in part follows:

I think if the President of the Old United States, one Abraham Lincoln by name, could look upon you this evening, see the brave faces and hear the beating hearts of this multitude, he would, probably, not feel inclined to remain in his present shoes. (Laughter) They say that you are raw troops, not well drilled, and, therefore, not able to meet the trained bands whom that malignant and insane peacock--(Laughter)--as he has been called by one of Virginia's sons, has brought into the field to subjugate your state and government. But fellow soldiers, admitting this to be true, which you will know is not, I believe that if you are whipped you will never find it out. It is pluck, and not numbers, which counts upon the field of battle.

This was what purchased the terrible victories of Poitiers and Crecy, three hundred years ago, and it is what will tell in the present age in favor of you who are fighting for your rights and firesides.

You who have been born, as it were, almost upon horseback, with rifles in your hands, ought to feel it no longer a question as to whether your slaves are to be freemen, but whether you are to be slaves--whether the people of Confederate States are to be allowed the right which was declared by our ancestors to be inalienable, of abolishing or altering whenever you see fit, your form of government, and re-constructing or substituting another in its stead. If this is not an incentive to nerve your arms in self-defense, you will never have one, (Cheers) It is said by the vulgar fanatic who has been elevated to the office of President that you have no such rights and shall not exercise them. He says, further, that those who have volunteered to carry into effect his behests, shall have parceled out to them portions of your soil, but I tell you my friends, I believe that the soil will be damp with your blood, and the blood of your women before the result takes place. You have the will and you have the strength to accomplish your freedom. The people of the South are with you; and, as for me, so help me God, I cross not your border until that freedom is secured. (Cheers, amid which the band in attendance struck up in the Air of Dixie, and the crowd adjourned to the parade ground to witness the review of troops.<sup>14</sup>

However, the people of Harrison County were taking no chances. Soon after the organization of the W. P. Lane Rangers, the Marshall Guards were organized, with F. S. Bass as Captain. It seems that it was originally intended that this company should remain in the county as a protection to its citizens, but when it became apparent that war must come, this company became the

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14. Texas Republican, June 22, 1861.

second company to leave the county to serve its state and nation. From time to time thereafter, other companies were organized. The third company organized in this county and to depart from it was the "Texas Hunters",<sup>15</sup> with T. W. Winston as captain. The "Bass Greys", under the leadership of Captain K. M. Van Zandt, was the next to go, followed by the "Texas Invincibles", under Captain W. B. Hill,<sup>16</sup> "The Clough Rangers", under Gil McKay, "The Hendricks' Company" under Captain S. B. Hendricks, "The Harrison County Lancers" with Phil Brown as captain, "The Marshall Mechanics", W. S. Allen, captain, "The Clough and Hill Avengers", W. L. Pickens, captain, "The Cypress Tigers" under Captain Buchan, "Hix McKay's Company", Hix McKay, captain, and "Webbs Company", under Captain S. W. Webb.

Sometime during the early part of May, 1861, the citizenship of Harrison County was called together for the purpose of working out plans for the arming of an efficient home guard. Resolutions were unanimously adopted, requesting the county court of Harrison County to issue bonds to the amount of \$16,000 for this purpose. This meeting was attended by a large crowd, mostly property owners, who thus expressed their desire for the imposition of a tax to raise money for home defense.

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15. So named because it was composed of sportsmen.

16. Captain Hill was a minister and his regiment was composed of young men from Marshall.

The county court at once acted upon the recommendation and passed an order for the issuance of these bonds.<sup>17</sup> Something of the feelings that prompted the people of Harrison County to purchase the bonds may be gathered from an editorial which appeared in the Texas Republican under the date of May 11.

Nothing now remains, but for those in our county who have the money, to step forward promptly, and take up these bonds. Is it necessary to appeal to the patriotism and liberality of our people? A war has been inaugurated by the abolition party which controls the government of Washington, having for its object our subjugation. Defeat with us, involves not only a destruction of property; but our degradation; the destruction of slave interest; the asserting and maintenance of the equality of the races. Let men not deceive themselves. This is the issue, and the overwhelming issue of the contest. Lincoln has said that he hates slavery as much as any abolitionist; that slavery and freedom cannot exist under one government, and that he contemplates the extinction of slavery without a destruction of the Union. A crisis, he says, has to be reached and passed. In his judgment, it has arrived. His fleets are blockading our ports, and he is raising an army of upwards of 150,000 men to subdue us.

Is this a time to talk about dollars and cents? or for men who have money or property, to hesitate about contributing freely to the cause, not simply of freedom, but of all they hold estimable or dear in life? If defeated, what is all the money or property in the South worth?

By June 1, it was clear that such hope of compromise as had formerly existed had passed away. On that date the following notice appeared in the Texas Republican:

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17. Texas Republican, May 11, 1861

All persons now within the limits of Harrison County, who have lately come into said county, from any of the free states, are hereby notified, that they are required within ten days from this date, to be and appear in the city of Marshall, before the Chief Justice of said county, to take and subscribe the oath of allegiance to the State of Texas and the Confederate States; that they will, if necessary, take up arms in defence of the Confederate Government, and in no event fight against it. Those who neglect or refuse to take the above oath within the time allowed, are hereby required to leave the State by the expiration of ten days.

On June 8, Governor Clark issued a formal declaration that war existed between Confederate States of America and the United States, and urged the citizens of the state to join in the support of a great cause. Following this declaration, a mass meeting was held in Marshall at the courthouse on July 4, for the purpose of "devising ways and means to enable the Confederacy to prosecute the war with vigor, and to insure a speedy and favorable termination of it". This meeting was presided over by W. T. Scott. By request, A. Pope explained the object of the meeting by a speech in which he urged upon the people prompt and generous action. The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, As the only alternative of maintaining our rights as a people, and securing our liberties, the liberties handed down to us, and guaranteed by our forefathers, we accept, and accept cheerfully, the wager of battle thus tendered by our enemies, and defy them to the conflict.

Resolved, That in the contest, we place

all our resources willingly at the disposal of the Confederate States.

Resolved, As an earnest of our good intentions in this behalf, we pledge ourselves to loan to the Confederate States out of the proceeds of the present year's earnings, such sums as the exigencies of the country may seem to require and our respectable abilities may permit.<sup>18</sup>

On July 31, another public meeting was held at the courthouse to take into consideration the subject of furnishing the volunteers from this county with necessary clothing. John T. Mills was called to the chair and S. H. Martin was appointed secretary. Gil McKay was called upon by the Chair to explain the objects of the meeting. G. B. Adkins, Levin Perry, John Womack, Richard Peete, and R. R. Haynes were appointed on a committee to draw up resolutions for the action of the meeting.<sup>19</sup> The resolutions adopted called for four things. First, G. G. Gregg, John F. Womack, and John B. Webster were appointed as a committee of three to ascertain the amount of clothing necessary, purchase the same, and apply to the commissioners' court for sufficient appropriation in county bonds to pay for their purchase, and the cost of their transportation to the soldiers wherever they were. Second, a committee<sup>20</sup> was appointed to procure wagons for transport.

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18. Ibid., July 13, 1861.

19. G. G. Gregg and Gil McKay were added to the above committee upon motion.

20. Composed of Levin Perry, H. M. Hood, James F. Taylor, J. M. Taylor, and A. G. Scogins.

ing the clothing to the soldiers. Third, Richard Pate, William Bradfield, J. B. Lancaster, T. F. Kenedy, and T. A. Harris were appointed as a committee to act with the ladies, and superintend the making of the clothing. Fourth, that the county court convene immediately, and make a sufficient appropriation to cover all expenses connected with the purpose above mentioned.

All of the above resolutions were unanimously adopted and prompt action taken.<sup>21</sup> Coats, pants, under-wear, shirts, and yarn for socks were easily obtained, but a plentiful supply of blankets was not at once forthcoming. The committee, after purchasing all of the blankets in the county that were for sale, was still far short of the required number and was forced to appeal to the citizens of the county to come to the relief of the volunteers and supply the deficiency from their own private supply. The following appeal was made:

The "Texas Hunters" now in Missouri, in their late desperate and bloody fight with the enemy, lost all their clothing, blankets, and money, and are this moment in a destitute condition. They must suffer, if not speedily relieved. We must send them a double supply. Winter is upon us, and what we do, must be done promptly. Let every citizen who can spare one or more blankets, send them immediately to the store of Bradfield & Talley or G.G. Gregg & Co., and the committee will see that the soldiers get them. We feel assured that this appeal will not be in vain.<sup>22</sup>

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21. Texas Republican, August 10, 1861.

22. Ibid., September 14, 1861.

By March 15, 1862 only 49 blankets had been donated. This brought about another appeal:

The foregoing sums up only 49 blankets, to supply the deficiencies that may occur in six companies that are now organized, or nearly complete, in this county. Surely there are more blankets in the county than these. In a few days our brave volunteers will take up their line of march for the seat of war. Shall it be said that a single one of them went off unsupplied with blankets, if there was a pair to be obtained in Harrison County? Fellow citizens, take the blankets off your beds, and send them without delay. The soldier who sacrifices so much to his country merits all that we can do for him; and the man who can keep a blanket about his house, and know that it is needed in the army, is not made of the right kind of material; his heart, we fear, is not in the cause. Send some coverlettes. An excellent sign. It shows that their blankets are exhausted, and that they are still anxious to do more. Such patriotism is to be admired. <sup>23</sup>

By September 1, 1861, the Confederate government had exhausted its supply of arms, and the counties, as they organized companies, were called upon to procure arms for them. It was at this time that Colonel Gregg's regiment was about to leave for active service. They, however, had no arms, nor any prospect of being armed. In the meantime, Governor Clark had requested officers in each county of the state to take an inventory of all the usable guns within their jurisdiction. This inventory revealed that there were around 2,500 guns fit for service in this county. An appeal for guns

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23. Ibid., March 15, 1862.

was sent out by one of the committees on clothing. The guns were to be brought in to the store of G. G. Gregg, or that of Bradfield & Talley where they would be examined and a fair price fixed upon them to be paid in Confederate money. W. B. Butler was appointed ordnance master for Harrison County to receive the guns. The appeal was closed with the following words:

Col. Gregg's Regiment will be ready in a few days to march to the seat of war. But one thing remains, and that is the question of arms. No one doubts that the service of these men, and tens of thousands of others are needed immediately, and that unless they are placed promptly in the field disastrous consequences may follow. The Confederate Government has exhausted its supply of arms, and the question is presented, will they be furnished from the private arms in the country?

The late inventory of the private arms in the state, instituted under the order of Governor Clark, has proved conclusively that there are a sufficient number of guns in Texas to arm every company that may be sent to the war, and leave a sufficient number behind for home defencs. This inventory exhibited what no one would have believed in reference to this county, in which it was found that there were between twenty-one and twenty-two hundred guns, with a number in one or two precincts, not reported. Say then, there are 2,500 guns. When the companies in Gregg's Regiment get off, there will not be over 700 men left in Harrison County capable of bearing arms, showing that this county alone can furnish 1,800 guns, and have enough left to arm every man remaining at home.

It is desired, therefore, that every man who has a gun that he can possibly spare, will bring it in without delay, and deposit it at the store of Messrs. G. G. Gregg & Co., or at Messrs. Bradfield & Talley's where it will be examined, and a fair price allowed for it in Confederate paper.

The undersigned deem it unnecessary to

make an appeal to the patriotism of the people. Men who volunteer for the defence of the country, ought not to be kept idle for the want of arms, and the man who stays at home, and is willing to surrender his gun for such a cause, is, to say the least of it, a poor patriot. But we want our fellow-citizens to be prompt so that the <sup>24</sup> regiment may not be necessarily delayed.

Not only were the citizens of Harrison County called upon to furnish clothing, guns, and blankets for the companies of soldiers raised in this county, but they were called upon to help protect and support the families of those who had gone away to answer the summons of their country, and who had left families in a needy condition. In addition to the families of the soldiers, there were widows with large families of children who had been thrown out of employment by the hard times which were beginning to come upon the people of the country. When this need became apparent, a new committee, composed of ministers, was organized, whose duty it was to provide the needy with the necessities of life. A notice was placed in the Texas Republican requesting every family living in Harrison County needing assistance to make its wants known to the relief committee. This committee was organized about the middle of October, but does not seem to have been able to perform fully the duty set for it. The Texas Republican of November 30, carried an appeal

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24. Ibid., September 28, 1861.

to the truly patriotic. The Following is a quotation from this article:

Those who have made contributions thus far have done so, as a general thing, in a liberal spirit; but we regret to find them so few in number. We naturally supposed that every man in the county who possessed the ability, would contribute something without waiting for a personal appeal upon his liberality and patriotism. Surely a worthier cause could not present itself then an appeal for defenceless women and children, many of whom have relatives in the army. These women, mothers, wives, and sisters will write to their sons, their husbands, and their brothers, a truthful account of affairs at home. Their letters will be marked by either want of confidence and gloomy despondency, or they will be pervaded with a spirit that will animate our troops to deeds of valor that will carry them triumphantly to victory on every battle field. It was this spirit that impelled our soldiers at Bethel, Bull's Run, Manassas, Springfield, Leesburg, and Columbus, rendered them invincible. Suppose they write: "We are here suffering for the common necessities of life, and without prospect of relief. We would gladly work upon any terms and at any price, but there is nothing for us to do." Even the little that could be done, such as work for the soldiers, is monopolized by ladies who have abundance, who, in their ardor to do something for the army, fail to reflect on the defenceless condition of those who are dependent upon their labor for subsistence. With a few honorable exceptions, the community is cold, selfish and parsimonious. Business men are endeavoring to extort the last cent that can be obtained, while speculators are permitted to range over the country and buy up every article of prime necessity, and enforce prices that place many of these articles entirely out of the reach of the poor and needy. A relief committee was started in Marshall, and the ministers of the Gospel enlisted in its support, but whether it was that they did not go to work with their accustomed zeal, or because disgusted with the reception

which their appeals met with, the result has been almost a failure. No one would suppose that these people felt that the present war was one in which all that they held dear and sacred was involved, or that they appreciate the noble sacrifice to those who have gone forth to fight the battles of their country.

The above was a rather strong indictment of the people of Harrison County, but one must remember that the people had not yet learned the lesson of self-sacrifice. However, during the latter part of December, the relief committee was more thoroughly organized. A central relief committee was organized with headquarters at Marshall. Sub-committees were then organized at each of the following places: Elysian Fields, Jonesville, Port Caddo, Hickory Grove, Cravers', Coppages', LaGrange, Miles, Blalock's, and Craig's. Better results were then obtained through this organization,<sup>25</sup> but still not enough food and clothing were turned in to the relief committee to enable them to adequately take care of the needy. The matter was then taken up with the county commissioners court who voted to supply whatever deficiency there might be through the sale of county bonds, payable in two and three years, at ten per cent per annum. If necessary, the relief committee was ordered to draw on the county treasury.<sup>26</sup> Thus, finally, bare necessities for the

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25. Texas Republican, December 28, 1861.  
26. Ibid., May 17, 1862.

needy were obtained.

A discussion of the Civil War that does not relate the part played by women is far from adequate. While all able bodied men were away at war, their mothers, wives, and sisters attempted to take the places made vacant by the call to colors. Many of them, Mrs. W. T. Scott, notably, carried on the management of great estates. Others went to the field with the children and old men and slaved for the cause they thought to be right. In more direct means the women of this county aided their soldier boys. No call for help ever went to them unheeded. Before Colonel Gregg's regiment left Texas, the ladies of Harrison County prepared a box of lint, sheets, bandages, and pillow cases, and sent it along with the baggage of the soldiers. Colonel Gregg in writing back to friends, thanked the ladies for the box, and told them of how much use it had been to his regiment.

This was by no means the only contribution made by the women to the soldiers who went from Harrison County. Some such act was mentioned in practically every issue of the Texas Republican. Perhaps one of their most philanthropic enterprises did not directly benefit the Harrison County soldiers. For a long time, there had been felt, among the citizenship of Harrison County, the need of a home to take care of the soldiers on their way to or from the army while on a furlough.

The Ladies Aid Society took up the matter, and in January, 1865, established a soldier's home in Marshall. The home was placed in charge of Thomas M. Hemby, a man greatly interested in this work. In this home, soldiers were furnished with food and clean, warm beds. It was supported by contributions, such as vegetables, eggs, and chickens, from the farmers of the county, and money from others.

Sometime in the early part of May, 1862, it was called to the attention of authorities in this county that large quantities of supplies were being sent through and from Harrison County to the enemy. A public meeting was at once called which adopted resolutions requesting Colonel Horace Randall to declare martial law in the county, to examine and arrest all transients of a suspicious character; to treat all persons bearing passports from the government of the United States as spies; and to discontinue the purchase of any goods from the enemy or any place in enemy territory.<sup>27</sup> He promptly complied with the request. On May 24, martial law was declared in effect, and people of the above described character warned to stay out of the county. One of the first acts of the provost marshal, after the proclamation of martial law, was to forbid the sale of intoxicating liquor within the

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27. The Texas Republican, May 24, 1862.

limits of the county.<sup>28</sup> It was soon found that martial law handicapped legal trade, and a few days after it went into effect, arrangements were made by the Shreveport committee of safety, whereby provisions could be brought through this county to that place. The only inconvenience wagoners were subjected to was that they were required to report to Mayor William Bradfield when they arrived in Marshall.<sup>29</sup>

The activities of the Harrison County soldiers were so interwoven with those of soldiers from other parts of the Southland that it is impossible to estimate accurately their importance to the Confederacy. However, judging from the number which went from this county, a majority of seven companies, and from the number of recorded battles in which Harrison County soldiers took part, it may safely be assumed that this county has no cause to be ashamed of its part in the Civil War.

Two events in the War, both disastrous to the Confederacy, are of special interest to the people of this county. The first was the fall of Fort Donelson which resulted in the capture of that part of two companies raised in this county who had not previously been killed in battle. One of these was the Texas Invincibles under Captain Hill, who, together with Colonel Clough, the commander of the regiment, also

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28. Ibid., May 31, 1862.

29. Ibid., June 7, 1862.

from this county, were killed.

The other event was quite as disastrous. The battle of Arkansas Post early in 1863 resulted in the capture of three other companies raised in Harrison County, Captain Richardson's, Captain Gil McKay's, and Captain Thomas F. Tucker's. For weeks after the engagement, conflicting reports were heard as to what had happened. An early report reached Marshall that most of them had been killed. Mothers and fathers were frantic and a cloud of gloom settled over the whole county. A few days later this gloom was partly dispelled by a letter from J. M. Harris, son of General T. A. Harris of Marshall, announcing the capture of the above mentioned companies. The letter follows:

I, with a few other boys, visited the Post a few days ago, for the purpose of getting some of their horses, provided any of them were left there. The Post was literally burnt up. I counted over one hundred dead horses, and a great many dead mules. Cannon balls, bomb shell, and rifle balls were scattered every where around. I also saw the graves of our men and the Yankees scattered in every direction. Col. Carter's regiment is camped a few miles above the Post. One company of his are at the post, gathering up government property which was left there. A boat went down a few days ago, to bring up what could be obtained. Charley Young's uncle, Dr. Burton who was Surgeon at the Post, and taken prisoner, was released at Memphis. He returned day before yesterday, bringing the information that our boys were taken to Alton, Illinois, and will not be exchanged soon. <sup>30</sup>

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30. Ibid., February 12, 1863

This letter relieved the people of Harrison County from their worst fears, and yet they were not entirely cheerful, for they had heard a great deal about the horrors connected with northern prison camps. In fact, a great many people never expected to see them again. The following extract from the Texas Republican under the date of February 19, 1863, gives voice to the thoughts that pervaded the minds of the people of this county during these dark days.

We have no further intelligence from the Arkansas Post prisoners. Sufficient time has elapsed to dissipate the hopes entertained as to the truth of the report of their escape. It is painful to reflect that our relatives, friends, and associates are in cheerless Northern prisons, and that we may not see them again for months, if indeed we ever behold them again in life. But this misfortune should render us only the more resolute and defiant; it is but an additional incentive to us to do our duty, and our full duty, to our country.

As it developed, the prisoners captured at Arkansas Post were carried to Douglas, Illinois. After a few weeks there, the following letter was received from one of the Harrison County boys.

Dear Father:- I wrote a letter to Arie about a month ago, giving a statement of the condition of our company. Since then, there have been many changes in the prospect of nearly one half of us. When I wrote to Arie, there were two dead, H. T. Walker and W. C. Ford. Since then, ten more have departed this life, and now we have two at the hospital whose return, I fear, will be like all the rest who have gone there; otherwise we are doing as well as could be expected--and receiving very good treatment. Money is scarce, and no prospects of getting any, and

of course without it we can procure none of the many delicacies we need when sick.

The detachment of Richardson's company with us, have suffered more than we, losing seven men out of fifteen. As some of them are writing home, I will only give the names of those dead. They are: Hawley, Henderson, Gravitt, Hinds, Harris, Hudson, and Jarrett. Oscar Johnson has had a severe attack of Erysipelas, but is recovering, and will be up in a day or two. No others seriously sick.<sup>31</sup>

It is possible that this letter was censored; the boy probably could have told his father a great deal more about prison life had he been allowed to do so. However, from the few words that he did write, people of this county felt that their early fears were justified. The Texas Republican in the same issue that published his letter had the following to say:

The subjoined extracts from letters from two young men of this county will be read with painful interest by all, but particularly by those who have relations and friends who are among the prisoners. The worst has been realized. The dear friends whom Yankee bullets failed to kill, are dying in Northern prisons! It is sickening to contemplate; to think that the loved faces upon which memory delights to linger, we shall never behold in life again.

The above was a gloomy picture, possibly more gloomy than facts would seem to justify. However, by this time, the North had come to the conclusion that the quickest way to end the war was to allow no further exchanges. Consequently, these soldiers, except for the few who escaped, were held in prison camps until the close of

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31. Geo. B. Atkins to his father, March 19, 1863, in Texas Republican, April 25, 1863.

the war. Quite naturally conditions were not ideal, and so many died. Others were so weakened, as a result of conditions to which they were subjected, that they died soon after their release. Only a few ever returned home.

Such tragedies served to spread gloom over the people of Harrison County, but there is no evidence that there was any lessening of activities on the part of its citizens in the prosecution of the war. In fact, they became more determined than ever to put forth every ounce of their strength to help win the war which they believed had been forced upon them by the North. If men and women had heretofore been selfish and had failed to give of their means for the cause of the South, such was not the case now. People in the county were either branded as patriots or traitors, but the latter, of whom there were only a few, soon found themselves very unpopular. "Are We Near the End?" was the subject of an editorial published in the Texas Republican during these trying times. The answer was: "Peace, when it does come, must be a settlement on our own terms."<sup>32</sup>

Something of the optimism that pervaded the minds of Harrison County people is found in an article written

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32. Texas Republican, October 14, 1864.

October 21, 1864, and published in the Texas Republican of that date. The first part of the article enumerates a number of conditions which served to create despondency. Atlanta had fallen; Hood was in retreat; Early was reported as defeated in the Valley; and Confederate soldiers were deserting by the hundreds.

Today the scene is changed, the article goes on to say. Joy rests upon many countenances, which yesterday denoted gloom. From every point the news is cheering. The enemy have been again foiled in their "Onward to Richmond." Even the doubting now begin to believe that Sherman will never get out of Georgia with an organized army. With Hood in his front and Forrest in his rear, how is he to escape? Added to this good news Gen. Price turned up in Missouri, and has suddenly organized a powerful army, which cannot be forced out of the state, without drawing a large portion of the federal force east of the river; sufficient to insure victory to our arms in that quarter.

All this proves that our people ought not to be too ready to give up at a little bad news. Our success is only a question of time.

By the opening months of 1865, the Confederate armies were fighting with their backs to the wall. Still, the people of this county, as they did all over the Southland, tried to carry on. Something of their spirit may be seen from the following extract:

In the opinion of the undersigned, the time has arrived when the citizens of Harrison County ought to assemble in public meeting to speak their sentiments upon the questions of the day, to strengthen the arms of the government in the struggle now pending for our liberties, to vindicate the honor of the glorious dead who have fallen in this war, and to give encouragement to our armies in the field, by assuring them that their friends at home have

not forgotten their duty to their country and are still ready to pledge fortune, life, and honor upon the issue.

Incipient treason has dared to raise its serpent head in our midst. Men, guided by love of property, or actuated by disgraceful fear, are circulating petitions in this and the neighboring counties, having for their object the organization of a party hostile to the Government, and the forcing of a disastrous peace, looking to reconstruction with the North. The foul breath of slander emanating from these men, has circulated abroad that a majority of the people of Harrison County are with them and have signed these petitions; whereas, the authors of this mischief compose but a limited number of our citizens.

Let therefore a public meeting be held, composed of the citizens of the entire county. Every man is urged to attend it and to show his hand. And, if there are any who have signed these petitions, not understanding their treasonable import, (as we believe there are some that have), let them come forward before this meeting, and publicly disavow their conduct, and erase their names from them, or forever consign themselves to the disgrace which belongs to those who would give aid and comfort to the public enemy that has violated all the rules of civilized war, and contemplate nothing short of our enslavement.<sup>33</sup>

This statement was signed by about fifty of the leading citizens of the county.

Finally, the long night mare came to an end. Lee in Virginia, was the first to surrender, followed by Johnston in the West, and other generals then in the field. Colonel Sprague and Major Bumby of the Federal army soon arrived in Marshall<sup>34</sup> to negotiate for the

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33. Texas Republican, January 27, 1865.

34. After the fall of Vicksburg, Marshall became the headquarters of the Trans-Mississippi region.

transfer of the Trans-Mississippi region. A meeting of the governors of states in the Confederacy west of the Mississippi and the leading generals in that region, was called by Governor Murrah of Texas to decide what action should be taken. Governors Allen of Louisiana, Reynolds of Missouri, Flanagan of Arkansas, and Murrah<sup>35</sup> of Texas were present. After several hours of discussion, it was decided to agree to the transfer, and this was quickly consummated. In a few days, a company of federal soldiers arrived in Marshall, and thus Harrison County got its first taste of reconstruction.

At the close of the war, the people of Harrison County were very bitter toward the North. This is not difficult to understand when one takes into consideration the fact that this county was one of the greatest slaveholding strongholds in the South. The triumph of the North meant the destruction of slavery, and with it, the destruction for many years, of the prosperity of this county. Lincoln, as the head of the United States government, and the master director of its policies, was cordially hated. Consequently, when the announcement came of his assassination, it was difficult for the people of this county to realize that a friend rather than an enemy had been destroyed. Many of them rejoiced as they had not rejoiced since the beginning of this

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35. Murrah was from Harrison County.

terrible struggle. They saw in Lincoln's death, the destruction of a tyrant, and were glad. The following article clearly indicates how the country felt toward this martyr:

We were under the impression there is no proposition more fully admitted than the right, if not the duty of individuals, to destroy the life of a tyrant. By no other means than by individual daring and bravery can such men be reached. They are not to be found in the van of battle, or at posts of danger, but in places of security, difficult and dangerous of approach, where they remain to carry out their iniquitous designs. The man, therefore, who has the high moral and physical courage to brave all the consequences attending such an act, and to strike down a tyrant when panoplied in his strength and power, is not, as we conceive, an assassin or murderer, but a hero. If we are to judge of a transaction by the motives which seem to govern it--the purity of purpose, the lofty impulse, the total abnegation of self and of personal security, how noble, how chivalric the conduct of Booth? He killed Lincoln, in the midst of his minions, any and all of whom were ready to crush him, and then instead of skulking away, paused to proclaim the heroic sentiment of patriotism that impelled the deed. "Sic Semper Tyrannis," the South is avenged! will live to be admired in eloquence and song.

There is no reason to believe that Booth in killing Lincoln, was actuated by malice or vulgar ambition. He slew him as a tyrant, and the enemy of his country. Therefore, we honor the deed. Would that we could impress the sentiment upon the heart of every man north and south, that "resistance of tyrants is obedience to God," that we could place in every Southern man's hand a dagger, with the resolute, virtuous purpose to use it against tyrants, whenever the opportunity offered.

Lincoln was essentially a man of low, vulgar instinct. A striking exhibition of this is given in his visit to the army of the Potomac, shortly after the battle of Sharpsburg. A letter writer of one of the New York

papers graphically described it. He said, in substance, that Lincoln rode over the battle-field, where were to be seen the evidences of recent deadly strife; the long lines of new made graves, the dead animals that covered the ground, the trees stripped of their foliage, or cut down by the missiles of war. It was a sight to sicken the heart; a scene similar to one over which Napoleon wept. Lincoln, the "kindly gentleman," exhibited no emotion. He returned to headquarters, where he was serenaded, and sat up to a late hour, drinking and telling anecdotes. Could there be conceived an act of greater brutality?36

The effects of any war are too numerous and manifold to describe in detail. For that matter, the effects in Harrison County were in most cases the same as those in all other places in the Southland. Of course, they might have been a little worse here, in some respects, than many places due to this county's having been one of the strongholds of Southern institutions. On the whole, however, due to the fact that the State of Texas was practically free from invasion during the war, Harrison County, and nearly all the rest of Texas, was more fortunate than most of the remainder of the Confederacy.

Quite naturally, prices were affected by the War. As was to be expected, the trend was upward. A schedule of the prices paid by the Confederate government for the different commodities which it bought in this county shows that flour sold for as high as

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36. Texas Republican, May 5, 1865.

\$17.50 a barrel, salt, 10¢ a pound, sugar, 75¢, and artillery horses, \$750 per head. Other commodities were in proportion.<sup>37</sup> Many articles such as coffee, due to the blockade, could not be bought at any price.

Confederate currency was also affected by the war. This, of course, was true all over the South. The war had been going on only a short time when a public meeting was called for the citizens of Harrison County to assemble at the courthouse for the purpose of considering the propriety of adopting measures to sustain the currency. Certain parties in the county, it was alleged, had refused to take Confederate money, thereby showing a want of confidence in the government, and using their influence to overwhelm it with ruin. The assembly met, and resolutions were adopted condemning such people as traitors to the cause of the South, and calling upon all loyal citizens to rally to the support of the currency by taking it at par value. Of course, no drastic action could be taken, but public opinion, when properly used, is a powerful weapon, and so it seems in this case that the meeting bore fruit. Quite a number of merchants, after this, advertised through the columns of the Texas Republican that they would take Confederate money at par value, offering,

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37. Ibid., January 20, 1865. It must be understood that payment was made in confederate currency.

in some instances, where accounts were owed, a premium.

There is some indication, as the war neared the end, that conditions in the county were not what the best of its citizens desired. Quite a number of destructive fires occurred, several of which were thought to have been of incendiary origin; thefts were frequent, and runaway negroes not unusual. The conditions finally became so bad that the Texas Republican complained that the county and city officers had ceased to function. The article went on to say that

...men get drunk and commit all manner of excesses. They flourish deadly weapons, ride their horses through the streets, whooping and hallowing like Indians, and endangering the lives of women and children, and difficulties are of frequent occurrence. It is time this state of fairs is ended, for it would seem that we have no law, Civil, or Military. The present officers in the judgment of the reflecting portion of the community, ought either, to do their duty, or resign. The citizens who pays a tax, and a high tax at that, for such a government as we have had for a long time, feels badly treated.<sup>38</sup>

Ordinarily, no industry suffers more during a war than railroads. They, on account of their strategic importance, are frequently the center of the heaviest fighting, and are quite often torn up by one or the other of the contending armies. This, however, was not true in Harrison County, nor in any part of Texas. However, the war did affect railroad building in this

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38. Texas Republican, September 9, 1864.

county, and other parts of the state. In the first place, it halted construction; in the second place, it prevented the replacement of parts as they wore out.

Shortly after the election of Lincoln, the following notice appeared in the Texas Republican:

We understand there is a report abroad, out of this county that the contractors on this road have abandoned their contract, that the sub-contractors have taken off their hands, and that the company has "gone under". These statements are unfounded. It is true that a panic existed for a few days growing out of the present crisis in our political and monetary affairs, and that a few of the sub-contractors withdrew temporarily from the work, but with the best understanding with the contractors. A large force is still on the road, and will continue at work.<sup>39</sup>

This article is self-explanatory, that is, that the effects of an impending war had already begun to be felt. Construction does seem to have gone forward intermittently until the opening hostilities, and perhaps for a time after that; but very little was actually done. The promoters of the Southern Pacific Railroad, not only lacked the money, but also inclination to continue the project. The road was completed from Swanson's Landing, to within a mile of Marshall, and after that no more construction was made until after the close of the Civil War. In fact, the

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39. Ibid., December 8, 1860.

affairs of the company soon got into such a condition that it could not meet its obligations.

In 1861, the Southern Pacific Railroad was sold under the execution of the sheriff of this county. H. S. Faulkerson of New Orleans became the purchaser. A new company was then formed with a directorship composed of A. Pope, J. P. Murrah, G. G. Gregg, J. S. Holman, Benjamin Long, J. M. Waskom, George B. Atkins, and R. W. Loughery, nearly all of whom were from Marshall. Holman was elected president. Pope, vice-president, A. T. Smith, secretary, Gregg, treasurer, and C. E. Hinson, general superintendent. Faulkerson was employed to act as the agent of the company in New Orleans. The best possible provision was made for the payment of the debts of the company.<sup>40</sup> This was not the last time the road was sold. In fact, as the war progressed, its financial difficulties increased, instead of improving. The Texas Republican contains notices of at least two other sales which took place during the Civil War, or during the lean years following.

Something of the condition of the road during these trying times may be drawn from the following extract taken from an article printed in the Shreveport South Western:

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40. Texas Republican, September 14, 1861. The County Records of this period are full of suits against the road.

The inference of the reader might be that it was a wagon train on which we have taken passage when we inform him that we were six and a half hours in reaching Marshall, but such was not the case; it was on the Southern Pacific Railroad, so called, we traveled. The track is in a wretched condition, and the engines sadly out of repair. As an evidence of the latter fact, the engine that hauled us out stalled three or four times on the down grade. The fact is the road thus far has proved a failure, is not meeting the demands of our mercantile community and the traveling public. But worse than all, "that iron safe" does not contain a single sumarkee. A friend informed us that the company had to borrow money to pay their taxes. We found the officers polite, etc., etc., but somewhat annoyed at the straitened condition of the company. So much for the Southern Pacific Railroad. <sup>41</sup>

About 1871, the road took on new life, and construction was pushed in both directions. By 1872, a stretch of sixty miles extending from Longview on the west to Shreveport on the east was completed. <sup>42</sup> The road was finally completed to El Paso and became a part of the great transcontinental system to the Pacific.

The principal effect of the Civil War was the break up of the great estates. This was brought about in two ways. In the first place, long before the Civil War closed, nearly all of the plantation owners of the

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41. Reprinted in the Texas Republican, January 26, 1869

42. Sometime in the sixties, a part of the road to Swanson's Landing was abandoned. The track as far as Jonesville was used and extended to Shreveport. Correspondence with C. F. Adams, a local historian, Marshall, Texas.

county were ruined. The costs of war, added to the high prices which they had to pay for food and clothing for their families, and negroes, and the lack of an adequate market at which they could dispose of their cotton, proved ruinous to them. Many of them were forced into bankruptcy before the close of the War.<sup>43</sup> Others certainly would have been forced to follow suit, even had the South triumphed. But the South did not triumph, and thus the plantation owners were dealt their death blow in the freeing of their slaves. With neither slaves nor money, they were forced to sacrifice their great estates at whatever price they could get. The census for 1860 shows many large estates;<sup>44</sup> but that in 1870 shows a notable decrease in the size of estates and an increase in the number of small farms.<sup>45</sup> The day of the small farmer had again arrived in Harrison County.

Another great effect of the Civil War on Harrison County accompanied the break up of the estates and was allied with it. This was the overthrow of the local aristocracy. Before and during the War, the names of such men as M. J. Hall, W. B. Ochiltree, Pendleton Murrah, G. G. Gregg, J. D. Perry, and other representa-

43. The Harrison County District Court Records reveal this state of affairs.

44. Eight Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture, transcript.

45. Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Agriculture, transcript.

tives of the aristocracy of the county, were continually before the people as their leaders. No one either dared or desired to question the political supremacy of the great plantation owners. But the Civil War stripped these men of all the glory attached to them as slave and plantation owners, and made them the equals of the "poor white trash." The latter thus elevated in his own sight began to take an interest in the affairs of the county and state until in time he supplanted the other in politics.<sup>46</sup>

Reconstruction.---A keynote to the attitude of the whole South was struck by Colonel Loughery in an editorial just after news of the surrender reached Marshall

The absorbing question with us now, is, what is to be our condition? Are we to be treated with kindness and conciliation, or oppression and tyranny? Will the North attempt to carry out its laws of confiscation and disfranchisement? Will they place over us an armed soldiery, the major portion of them composed of black troops? Will they attempt to equalize the races, or to elevate the negro above the white man? Or will they endeavor to restore the Union to one of affection and interest? To revive the energies, and industry of the people and restore commerce? If they determine upon the latter course, good results will follow, and ten years may find us a more united people than we ever were before. If the former, we can see no end. Our armies it is true, are destroyed, but the spirits of the people are unbroken. They are not yet fit for slaves and the result will be the commencement of a guerilla system of warfare of which no man can see the end.<sup>47</sup>

46. This was not generally true until after the days of reconstruction.

47. Texas Republican, May 26, 1865.

' The coming of the Federal troops.--Soon after the surrender, A. J. Hamilton, who, being a union man, had left Texas in 1862, returned to the state with the Union troops, as governor, and took up the task of reconstruction. He agreeably surprised the people by appointing as provisional officers men, who, to a large extent, enjoyed the confidence of the people with whom they had to work. In this county, S. R. Perry, a former slave owner, was appointed sheriff. Other appointments were equally satisfactory.

About the middle of June, 1865, the United States troops, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Wheaton, consisting of the 8th regiment of Illinois Infantry, and a company of cavalry, took formal possession of Marshall. Civil functions of government were immediately supplanted by the military. However, everything was done by local people to establish cordial relations between themselves and the military authorities, and to assure them of their heart co-operation in the task that was then before them. Colonel Loughery, always the spokesman for the aristocracy of the county cautioned his readers to give the military authorities no cause to suspect them of untoward conduct.

He said:

Every sensible man must see the necessity of establishing good feelings between the officers and soldiers sent here, and the citizens of the county. These officers and soldiers may imagine that we desire to revive

the war, and that the spirit of insubordination is rife in the land. In the treatment they are receiving, and will continue to receive, they will learn that such an opinion has no just foundation. They will go out from us, we trust, friends, instead of enemies; hereafter, political allies instead of adversaries. These results are important to us and scarcely less so to them.<sup>48</sup>

In accord with the above sentiment the citizens of Harrison County, were called to meet in the editorial room of the Texas Republican. This meeting took place on June 19. D. S. Jennings was called to the chair, and R. W. Loughery was appointed secretary. Both Colonel Loughery and Colonel M. J. Hall made speeches, the purpose of which was the desire to establish a kind and cordial understanding between the military authorities and the citizens, which would ultimately result in the attainment of order and good feeling, the maintenance of the prosperity of the county, and the speedy establishment of civil government.

A committee of fifteen was appointed to draft a preamble and resolutions expressive of the purpose of the meeting. This committee made the following report which was adopted:

Your committee believe that they faithfully represent the views and feelings of the entire population of the county, and they doubt not the state, though not called upon to express

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48. Ibid., June 23, 1865.

an opinion beyond their own immediate neighborhood, respectfully represent:

1. That they recognize the war as over, and are anxious for the establishment, not only of good order, but good feeling between all sections of the country. We belong alike to the Union, and desire as early as possible to restore it to its original rigor with its protection of civil rights, and the principles of constitutional freedom.

2. Texas not having been the theatre of war, and her citizens having been accustomed uninterruptedly to the rights, privileges, and immunities which belong to civil government, feels keenly the sense of personal insecurity arising from the civil law being temporarily suspended, and is solicitous for a return to the civil government. That for this purpose they respectfully memorialize the authorities of the United States, to abandon all apprehensions of resistance, either direct or indirect, upon the part of our citizens, and to rest assured they will do all they can to restore the reign of good feeling and good government. With an earnest assurance of this fact, and satisfied that it will be attested soon by the officers of the United States now here, or on the way to Texas, who will receive nothing but kindness and courtesy from our citizens, we doubt not the United States government will give every assistance in its power to aid in restoring, as speedily as possible, the civil government.

Resolved, that we are pleased with the courteous bearing of Lt. Col. Wheaton, in command at this place, and appreciate his views and feelings, so far as we have heard them expressed.

Resolved, that the law abiding citizens will respect the Emancipation Proclamation as a war measure, desiring at the same time, to have good order, industry and sobriety, among the negro population, and to care for them, as we have been accustomed, until such action is taken with the final disposition of the question and determination of their status, as consistent with the constitution of the United States, which is the supreme law of the land.

Resolved, that desiring in good faith, to establish good order and good feeling, we desire to aid, countenance and support the United States and its officers, and to bury everything in the shape of prejudice. If we are henceforth to live under one government, every good citizen, North and South, ought to conspire to aid in rendering that government acceptable to all.

Resolved, that as evidence of good faith upon the part of the citizens and late soldiers of the Confederacy, we hope that all public property surrendered to, or claimed by the United States, will be promptly restored. 49

While the leaders of opinion in Harrison County did all they could to get the people of the county to fall in line with the new regime, to co-operate with it, and obey its laws, yet underneath this seeming conciliatory attitude, there burned fierce fires of a spirit that, although smothered, could not be quenched by the troops of the Union. The people of this county felt that they had been deeply wronged. Time alone could erase this feeling. No overt act was done to indicate that the citizens of the county felt this way. They had received their instructions from their leaders, and so there was no attempt at evasion. Their attitude was more negative than anything else. That is, it was what they did not do, rather than what they did, that indicated how they felt. Two incidents among several, indicate that the acceptance of the new order of things was "by

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49. Ibid., July 23, 1865.

right of might" rather than of their own volition. On July 4, 1865, the military authorities stationed at Marshall staged a Fourth of July celebration. A pole had been erected upon the public square by the soldiers, and at sunrise on the 4th the United States flag was raised and a salute of thirteen guns fired. At ten o'clock the soldiers, accompanied by the band, marched through the principal streets of the town. Late in the afternoon, they again paraded the streets, and after being drawn up in front of the court house, gave three cheers, each for the United States flag, President Johnson and General Grant. The negroes were in from all parts of the county. Such a convocation had never before been witnessed in Marshall. It embraced not only men and women, but hundreds of children. Impelled by curiosity, they went in mass from place to place throughout the day, behaving on the whole, with propriety. Very few white citizens were on the streets. The few that were there took no part in the celebration in spite of the fact that they were urged to do so.<sup>50</sup>

A second indication of the sullen attitude of the people of Harrison County appeared in connection with President Johnson's plan of reconstruction. A.J. Hamilton, provisional governor of Texas, ordered an election to be

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50. Ibid., July 9, 1865.

held on January 8, 1866 to select members to a convention for the purpose of drawing up and adopting a constitution for the State of Texas. Only those were allowed to vote who, on registration, could take the oath prescribed by President Johnson's Amnesty Proclamation.<sup>51</sup> David B. Bonfoey chief justice of Harrison County, and an appointee of Governor Hamilton, was authorized to administer the oath of amnesty to the citizens of this county. The opening date for the administration of the oath was August 18, 1865. However, in spite of the fact that Governor Hamilton had made this a condition precedent to the organization of a state government only six, or seven hundred, or about one half of the voting population of this county at that time, had subscribed to the oath by November 3.<sup>52</sup> This studied indifference continued, even when the question arose of electing someone to represent the county at the state convention. Ordinarily, a public assembly would have been called as soon as the election notice was posted by the chief justice. But in this case, it was not until the latter part of December, and only a few days before the assembling of the convention, that enough interest was manifested to call a public meeting. Only sixty or seventy voters attended this meeting, most of whom left after a few moments. Speeches were made by

51. Brown, History of Texas, II. 445.

52. Texas Republican, November 3, 1865.

Judge Ochiltree and others. As a result of this meeting, Colonel Burke was nominated and elected to represent Harrison County at the state convention and Judge C. A. Frazer was the representative-elect from Harrison and Panola Counties.<sup>53</sup> The state convention, during a session which covered several weeks, framed a constitution, which was intended to restore Texas into the Union under her own constitution and laws. It also provided for an election to be held on June 4 for the adoption or rejection of the state constitution, and for the election of state, district, and county civil officers. This election did not take place in Harrison County until the latter part of June. Nothing like a representative vote was cast. The two principal candidates for governor were Throckmorton and Pease. Throckmorton represented the conservative group, while Pease was a radical. The former received 796 votes in this county, while his opponent received only 6. Obadiah Hendrick was elected chief justice; S. R. Perry was elected sheriff.<sup>54</sup> The county voted by a large majority in favor of the ratification of the state constitution.

The people of the county, back again, under their own government, felt that a very difficult problem had been solved much quicker, and with less unpleasantness

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53. Ibid., December 29, 1865.

54. Ibid., June 30, 1866.

than they had anticipated. At this point, there was a beginning in the healing of the wounds caused by the Civil War, and had Harrison County and other counties composing the different states in the Confederacy been spared those terrible days of reconstruction that were to follow, the breach between the North and South might have quickly disappeared, and the nation again would have been united in spirit. However, this was not to be. The radical leaders of congress had their own viewpoints as to the right way of reconstructing the erring states. They felt that President Johnson's plan was too conciliatory; that the southern states ought to be made to suffer for their errors before they should again be allowed to take their accustomed places in the council hall of the nation. Finally, the radical will prevailed and over the opposition of the President, congress in February, 1867, declared that the reconstructed state governments were null and void. A military government was soon established, and Texas, together with Louisiana, was thrown into district number five, and placed under the command of General Sheridan. The amendment to the constitution giving suffrage to the negro was soon passed, and thus the stage was set for the worst days the state had experienced since its organization. General Sheridan promptly declared the state government to be provisional. A new registration was necessary to give the newly enfranchised citizens a chance to vote.

The state was divided into fifteen registration districts. New restrictions were now imposed upon the southern white man and, this being insufficient to bar enough of them from voting to give the state government into the hands of carpet-baggers, scalawags, and negroes, secret instructions were issued by the military commander which barred most of the remaining white.

In Harrison County, negroes were appointed as registrars. This was almost a necessity, for negroes, carpet-baggers, and scalawags were about the only ones who could take the oath prescribed for a voter. The Texas Republican estimated that forty-nine-fiftieths of the white people of the county were effectually barred by the new registration law, together with the secret instructions issued by the military authorities. White men who were supposed to have felt the slightest sympathy for the South were subjected to the most rigid examination and oppressive restrictions, while the negroes were at once enrolled as voters.

On July 30, 1867, Governor Throckmorton, the legally elected governor of Texas, was removed by General Sheridan, and the rejected candidate, E. M. Pease, put in his place. Sometime later, General Sheridan was replaced by General W. S. Hancock, who promptly declared against the secret instructions to registrars. Thus more people in Harrison County were enabled to register.<sup>55</sup>

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55. Hancock was removed after a few weeks.

Registration closed in Texas at the end of the August. On the 23rd of September, the board of registration for Harrison County assembled again for one week. At the end of that time, 3,285 persons had registered, 2,480 of whom were blacks. The total white vote in the county would have been about 1,300 if all the whites had been allowed to register, so that in any event, the negroes, with the franchise extended to them, would exercise the controlling power in the county. The Texas Republican bewailed this face.

It will not be long, we presume, before an election will be ordered, and then will be enacted a scene which has never been witnessed in this or any other civilized community. These 2,480 ignorant blacks will be holding public meetings, listening to speeches, traveling over the country, etc., to the sacrifice of its industrial interest. And then will come the election, when two-thirds of this African population will be in town, in all probability for two days. So largely in the ascendancy, it is to be expected that a majority of delegates to the convention, from this and all counties similarly situated, will be blacks, who will form a considerable element in that body. If this convention sanctions negro political equality, the negroes in all counties where they are in the majority, can elect all the civil officers, county judge, district and county clerk, sheriff and magistrates, and in towns like Marshall, the municipal officers. All that will prevent permanent negro suffrage will be the resistance of the northern counties, which by consenting to it would give the power to the blacks and mean whites of the middle and the coast counties. But if they do not agree to it, congress will not accept the constitution that may be adopted, and a new reconstruction act will have to be passed to fit the case. So we go. <sup>56</sup>

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56. Ibid., September 14, 1865.

The editor was not far wrong when he made the prediction that the negroes would soon be holding meetings of their own. On the last Monday in December, 1868, Judge Caldwell, one of the associate judges of the Supreme Court of Texas under military appointment, accompanied by a negro man named Scipio McKee, attempted to hold a radical meeting in the county court house at Marshall. This meeting was broken up by a body of citizens. Judge Caldwell first attempted to get permission from the county officials to hold the meeting in the court room, but being refused the keys to this room by deputy sheriff A. G. Adams, he, together with a body of negroes, entered the court house, and began a meeting in the lobby. All business in the court house necessarily had to be suspended, due to the noise and confusion caused by the speakers and the negroes. Judge Caldwell spoke briefly, and then McKee gave out a political hymn, which all of the negroes began to sing. At this juncture a pistol was fired, and the Judge and his listeners speedily vacated the place. On the next day Lieutenant Hawley, commander of the United States troops stationed at Marshall, arrested three prominent citizens of the county: S. R. Perry, the sheriff, his deputy, A. G. Adams, and Captain S. J. Richardson. On the following day a writ of habeas corpus was obtained, and they were brought before Judge J. B. Williamson. The papers presented in the case by Hawley consisted of statements made by Lieutenant Maloy of the Freedman's Bureau,

Judge Caldwell, and C. W. Coleman, a negro school teacher, charging the parties arraigned with disturbing the peace by breaking up a peaceable meeting with drawn revolvers. In the investigation of the case, the witnesses for the state alone were examined. The case closed by having the parties bound over for their appearance at the next term of district court; Adams and Richardson in the sum of \$1,000 each, and Perry in the sum of \$500.<sup>57</sup>

Newspapers in the North gave a rather distorted account of the affair. Telegrams were sent from Marshall declaring that the meeting had been broken up by an armed mob and that several negroes had been killed. Considerable alarm was felt among the conservative leaders of the United States government.<sup>58</sup>

Colonel Wood was sent to Marshall from New Orleans to investigate the matter. He turned out to be a man of good sense, and not one to be swayed by blind prejudice. The defense of the arrested men was quickly stated. Judge Caldwell himself was to blame. He had come into a county where the negroes out numbered the whites three to one to stir up bad passions, for no worthier purpose than to make political capital. Having conducted this investigation, Colonel Wood soon returned to New Orleans, and there is no evidence that the case was ever brought to trial.<sup>59</sup>

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57. Ibid., January 4, 1868.

58. Ibid., January 25, 1868. A report copied from a Shreveport paper seems to justify the above statement.

59. Ibid., January 25, 1868

Since the work done by the previous state convention was not acceptable to the radicals who were now in control of congress, another one had to be called to draw up and adopt a constitution for Texas that would satisfy them, before the state could again take its accustomed place. Both the radicals and the conservatives exerted themselves to the utmost to secure control of this convention.

On the last Monday in January, 1868, radicals held a great political rally in Marshall. Early in the day, negroes from all of the neighboring plantations came pouring into town, and before noon, there were about a thousand in attendance. A rude platform, erected near the east end of the court house, accomodated the speakers, while the audience stood in a compact mass in the yard. Only forty or fifty whites were present. Judge Caldwell led off with a harangue which lasted about two and a half hours. He was followed by Colonel J. M. Waskom, who delivered the only conservative speech of the day. Other speakers, all imported, were General A. B. Norton, Major J. W. Flanagan, of Rusk, and George W. Whitmore of Smith County. The radical orators, one and all unqualifiedly declared themselves in favor of universal negro suffrage. It was near dark before they had concluded, and the meeting dispersed. <sup>60</sup>

A few days later, on February 6, the conservative

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60. Ibid., February 1, 1868

whites held their meeting. Judge George Lane was called to the chair, and W. P. Hudgins was appointed secretary. The object of the meeting having been explained, a committee was appointed to nominate candidates for the convention. While this body was deliberating, Colonel Burke<sup>61</sup> addressed the meeting. He declared that in his opinion, it was the duty and interest of the people to unite on suitable candidates, go to the polls and vote for them, and at the same time vote against the convention<sup>62</sup> and to endeavor to defeat by every possible means "the nefarious schemes of those, both within and without the state, who are endeavoring to destroy all that remains of constitutional liberty".

J. M. Fain, of Panola, L. D. Evans, Thomas F. Parnell, and J. M. Waskom, of Harrison County were nominated as candidates to the convention. A resolution was adopted on the basis of Colonel Burke's recommendation.<sup>63</sup>

The election occurred in the middle of February. There was no disturbance of any kind. There was at least 3,000 negroes in town, but they were well under the control of their radical leaders. Harrison County decided by a vote of 1,902 to 497, in favor of the convention. Of course, all radical candidates, N. U. Board, Wiley Johnson, C. E. Coleman, and Mitch Kendell, were overwhelmingly elected.

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61. Now the editor of the Texas Republican

62. This procedure had been recommended by a conservative convention which had met in Houston a short time before this.

63. Texas Republican, February 8, 1868

Three of the above, Johnson, Kendell and Coleman were  
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negroes.

In this election, the conservatives lost throughout the state, and a constitutional convention was accordingly called. This convention met June 1, 1868, and remained in session for several months. Even before the convention was called, the conservatives of Harrison County were busy perfecting their organization.

We presume, said the Texas Republican, that it may be regarded as a settled fact, that a black and tan convention will be held in this state, which in all its characteristics will prove a counterpart of similar conventions held in the other southern states. We are not left in the dark as to what we may expect. The constitution adopted will, as a matter of course, enfranchise the entire black population, and disfranchise a sufficient proportion of the whites, to radicalize and Africanize the state. If such a constitution prevails, the negroes will be invested not only with full political equality, with the right to vote, to hold office, and to sit upon juries, but they will exercise the controlling influences in the government, to be used by a set of depraved demagogues for their own selfish purposes. The party that controls them is thoroughly organized. There are Loyal Leagues, a secret, oath-bound organization, in every county and neighborhood in the state. The negroes are drilled so as to be used for any emergency that may arise, and the men that direct them are as cunning as they are unprincipled. In this condition of things, it behooves the intelligent conservative people of the state to organize as early as possible, and prepare to defeat the constitution which the mongrels may adopt. This is our last chance. If we fail in this, the character and prosperity of the state will be lost for a time. How long it will require to undo the infamous work accomplished, and what evil will be inflicted upon the government and upon society is impossible

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64. Ibid., February 28, 1868.

to tell. The recent election plainly shows, that if the people will come out and vote, as they ought and doubtless will, that the mongrels and their work will be defeated.

We say, therefore, organize in every county and neighborhood without delay. There is no time to lose.<sup>65</sup>

In response to this plea, a meeting of the conservatives of this county was held at the court house. Judge John T. Mills was elected chairman and J. C. Curtis, secretary. The former, briefly, but forcibly explained the objects of the meeting. He referred to the designs of the radicals as manifested by the leaders of congress, the constitutions adopted in other states by "mongrel conventions", the impeachment of the President, and the events that were likely to follow the consummation of the policy of the radicals in Texas. All this, he said, showed the necessity of organization, if the people of this state would save themselves from the humiliation, degradation, and ruin that had been visited upon other states. He maintained that a sufficient number of conservatives were permitted to vote in Texas to defeat the radicals, if they would organize, and go to work with the proper spirit. "Surely," he said, "when there is so much at stake, the people will not continue to manifest a spirit of apathy, and indifference."

A committee of ten was appointed, by the chairman to draft a resolution expressive of the purpose of the

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65. Ibid., March 7, 1868.

meeting. R. W. Loughery, Judge T. A. Patillo, Dr. B. F. Baldwin, Dr. E. M. Johnson, Captain S. J. Richardson, E. B. Blalock, ex-Governor Clark, R. H. Cooper, J. M. Curtis, and Dr. James H. Johnson composed this committee. Blalock at his own request was excused from serving and Captain Barrett was substituted. Dr. Johnson also asked to be excused, but finally consented to serve. Lieutenant G. B. Lipscomb, whose name had been mentioned, peremptorily declined to serve, alleging as the principal ground, the sparseness of the meeting. This was discouraging, but the committee went bravely to its task, and at three o'clock reported a preamble and resolutions. On account of the small attendance it was thought advisable not to proceed further, but to call another meeting for June 2.<sup>66</sup> Only about forty had attended the morning session, and 125 the afternoon. In commenting upon the lack of interest the Texas Republican had the following to say:

The cause of this apathy, we are unable to divine. It was most extraordinary and to us, inexplicable. With the condition of Louisiana before us, and with a similar fate in store for Texas, unless her people "work while it is yet day", we cannot comprehend why every white individual in the county does not feel that the cause of conservatism appeals directly to him.

There was a larger attendance at the meeting of June 2,

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66. Idem.

and more interest was manifested. Judge Mills was again called to the chair, with J. W. Pope as secretary. Ex-Governor Clark explained the objects of the meeting. As before, a committee, this time of fifteen, composed of F. W. Loughery, Edward Clark, S. J. Richardson, R. C. Garrett, R. H. Cooper, A. Pope, J. M. Waskom, W. T. Scott, A. G. Turney, B. H. Sartain, William Woodson, Benjamin Long, S. H. Hendricks, Nathan Nesbitt, and M. J. Hall, was appointed and all consented to serve. At four o'clock the committee reported the following preamble and resolutions:

A condition of political affairs has arisen, calculated to alarm every man in whatever section he may reside who has at heart the perpetuity of Republican institutions, but more deeply concerning the people of the Southern States, as it threatens them with degradation and irremediable ruin.

1. Resolved, that the citizens of each beat<sup>67</sup> in the county be requested immediately to organize conservative clubs for each beat, and that there be appointed a central executive committee to consist of five members, to hold its meeting at the town of Marshall, to which committee all beat clubs are requested to report their action.
2. Resolved that we are unalterably opposed to reconstruction under the policy of the present Congress, and will labor earnestly to defeat negro equality and negro supremacy.
3. That relying upon the intelligence and virtue of the American people, we will continue to struggle against radicalism, and endeavor to defeat the accomplishment of its iniquitous aims.
4. That the term rebel is unjustly applied to the people of the South, who are and have been faithful to the principles of the constitution,

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67. A division of Texas counties for voting purposes. The term has gone out of use. Precinct is the modern word for "beat".

and is justly applicable to those only who are endeavoring to destroy it and to subvert our admirable system of government.

5. That President Johnson has our warmest sympathies in the persecution to which he has been recently subjected, and we rejoice in his triumphant acquittal.

6. That the chairman of this meeting be instructed to telegraph to the chairman of the state central committee and ask him to appoint Gen. Horace Boughton as a delegate to the National Conservative Convention, in addition to those already appointed, to represent this congressional district in said convention.

7. That we are gratified to witness the presence of a number of conservative freedmen in the meeting, and that we recommend to the Central County Committee the organization of the conservative freedman into clubs, to aid in the putting down of the spirit of radicalism which has created between the races, a feeling of hostility injurious to both.

8. That five delegates be appointed to represent Harrison County at the State Conservative Convention, to assemble at Bryan City on the 7th of July next.<sup>68</sup>

The chairman made the following appointments:

Central committee: E. B. Gregg, A. Pope, S. J. Richardson, J. H. Van Hock, and S. R. Perry.

Delegates to the convention: R. C. Garrett, M. J. Hall, J. W. Pope, W. G. Barrett, Thomas Brownrigg, and Judge J. T. Mills.

Organization got under way quickly. The beat committees performed their work as efficiently as could be expected under prevailing conditions. On the second and fourth Saturdays of each month, the chairman or a delegate from each beat committee met in Marshall to report

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68. Texas Republican, June 5, 1868.

on progress and to consult on plans for the approaching campaign. A special attempt was made to line up the best element of the negro population with the conservatives. That the whites had some success at this may be seen from the report of the meeting of the colored conservatives of Harrison County who adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, in Union there is strength, by a man's action, only can he be known. The time has arrived when every colored man should unite his strength with that of the white conservative Democrats, both South and North, therefore, before it is too late,

Resolved, 1st, That we hold in utter contempt any southern man, white or black, who has turned traitor to his home and country, and who affiliates with the Loyal League or the radical party  
Resolved 2nd, That we will not hire any man, white or black to labor, who is known to be in sympathy with, or affiliates with the Loyal League and radical party.

Resolved 3rd That each member of the colored Democratic Club organized at Central Academy, be constituted an agent to solicit the names of such as may join, and that certificates may be issued to them by the Democratic Club of beat No. 3. 69

In spite of the efforts of the conservatives of this and other negro infested counties, to muster a formidable organization, they were doomed to defeat. There were at this time 45,000 negroes in the state, and these were too well under the control of scalawags and carpet-baggers, to hope for any conservatism. On February 6, 1869, the state constitutional convention adjourned without completing,

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69. Ibid., September 18, 1868.

dating, or signing the constitution. In this condition it was submitted to the people for ratification. The Texas Republican has the following to say relative to this convention:

Every good citizen of the state will rejoice to learn that the Austin Mongrel Convention has adjourned. A more villainous depraved body of men never met within the bounds of a commonwealth for any ostensible purpose connected with governmental affairs. And after having outraged all decency, honesty, and self-respect, if they ever had any, and plotted at the state capital for months against the best interests of the country, at an expense of scarcely less than a quarter of a million of dollars, they have kindly consented to go home, or to the places they call by that endearing appellation. We have not seen their work. We know but little of the legislation in which they saw fit to indulge. It will be time enough for us, and the voters of the state to pass judgment upon the result when it is before us.<sup>79</sup>

There were not enough enfranchised whites to defeat this constitution, and so it was declared ratified by an overwhelming majority. At the time of its adjournment, the convention had ordered an election for state and county offices. Edmund Davis, the radical candidate for governor, was elected over Hamilton, the conservative. Just as the radicals had won in the state so did they win in Harrison County. Every county office was filled either by a carpet bagger, scalawag, or a negro. Radical rule was not broken in the county for a period of eight years. During that time, the following negroes served in various capacities: Henry Moore, as state senator for two terms; Mitch Kendell, state senator, for one term; David Abner, as representative

for one term; Shack Roberts, as representative for two terms; Wiley Henderson, as representative for one term; Edmund Brown, as representative for one term; Edmund Brown, sheriff; Patrick Dennis, as county treasurer; Wash Brown, as deputy sheriff; and Levi White, as chief of police for the city of Marshall. <sup>71</sup>

A reaction on the part of the conservatives against such conditions was inevitable, and sometime in 1868, a Ku Klux Klan organization, purported to be the first west of the Mississippi, was perfected in Harrison County. This organization took place in the store of Hill, Hawley & Company, a building located where Hilliard-Green Clothing Store now stands. Theo. P. Hawley, W. W. Heartsill, Clarence Kerby, W. C. Barrett, S. K. Taylor, and T. A. Elgin assumed leadership. It seems that this organization was not used with any great effectiveness toward keeping the negro from the polls, but concerned itself, by peaceful means, with keeping down disorder among the negroes. The Klan was so organized that if any trouble with negroes arose, the bells of the town of Marshall summoned the women and children to a place of safety, and called the men together in council to act as necessity might demand. About bed time there would appear in the streets of Marshall, or along some lonely country road, a group of hooded figures who spoke to each other in low guttural tones. The negroes who were cut at

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71. A letter from H. B. Pemberton, colored principal of Central High School, Marshall, Texas.

that time fled to their homes upon seeing them, and remained there until the next morning. In case some negro had conducted himself too insolently toward a white person, he was called upon by the hooded brigade, and in rare cases he was taken out and whipped. Usually, the knowledge that there was such an organization as the Ku Klux Klan made negroes cautious and prevented the necessity of using severe measures against him.<sup>72</sup> Either as an aftermath of the war, or as an accompaniment of radical rule, a spirit of unrest manifested itself in Harrison County in the form of numerous petty crimes. For instance, the cellar room of G. W. L. Dawson, keeper of an inn, was broken into and robbed of a considerable quantity of whiskey, sugar and other provisions.<sup>73</sup> Cattle and hogs had to be locked up. In several instances, even the cows came home already milked. It is very likely that the freedmen, most of whom were out of work, and had no means of subsistence, were responsible for most of these thefts. To say that all such offences were committed by negroes would be going further than reason demands. There are always a few whites in any community who, through actual necessity, or through greed, will rob, pillage, or murder.

Some of the crimes were more serious. Conditions finally became so bad that the Texas Republican felt called upon to voice its protest against such lawlessness.

72. Interview with W. W. Heartsill, an ex-klansman, Marshall, Texas.

73. Texas Republican, November 10, 1865.

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It is necessary to lock all the doors, and button down the windows of dwellings, to keep out burglars; to take in every household article at night, and place it under lock and key. It is no longer safe to walk the streets of a night, without a six-shooter, and a searching inquiry in front and rear. This is no sensation paragraph. The condition of things represented really exist here. Such a state of affairs was certainly never known in any country in the civilized world with such a sparse population. There exists an amount of rascality, thieving, demoralization and licentiousness rarely equalled. We have lived in Texas for nearly 19 years, and we have never known during that period, property and life so insecure. We must not be understood as making any complaint. By no means. If the officials and citizens, the civil and military are satisfied with the existing state of things, the situation is equally acceptable to us; for we feel abundantly competent to take care of ourselves in any state of society that may unhappily intervene. But as a public journalist, we feel it our duty to present facts, and to urge those whose province it is to promote and enforce law and order and virtue, to do so.<sup>74</sup>

Quite a number of murders were attempted or consummated in this county during its reconstruction period. One of the most foul of the attempts at murder was on Mrs. D. B. Bonfoey. Some one entered her house one night and attacked her with a hatchet, fracturing her skull, and almost killing her. S. R. Perry, sheriff at this time, posted a \$1,000 reward for the apprehension of the person who committed the crime.<sup>75</sup> In many instances, the person murdered was a negro. This would seem to indicate that a few negroes during this period proved themselves to be too recalcitrant and more serious means of dealing with them than terroriz-

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74. Ibid., November 17, 1865.

75. Idem.

ing had to be adopted.<sup>76</sup>

It does not seem that the troops of the United States government stationed at Marshall were as obnoxious to the citizens of this county as they were said to have been in other places in the South. This is especially true for the first few years of their residence. As has been seen, the 10th Illinois Infantry took up its residence in Marshall about the middle of June, 1865. The Texas Republican gives a favorable account of these men:

These soldiers are well drilled and disciplined, and the deportment of the officers and men, is in the main, commendable. Our citizens are much pleased to witness the spirit manifested by a large majority of them. We are satisfied that a large majority of the United States officers and men are anxious to promote a good feeling.<sup>77</sup>

However, a few charges have been laid at the door of the officers and soldiers stationed at Marshall. The chief offense committed seems to have been drunkenness. When in this condition, the soldiers delighted to ride their horses furiously up and down the streets, thereby endangering the lives of pedestrians and disturbing peace in general. A few cases of rape and murder, charged against the Federal soldiers, are recorded. Some of these charges were probably not true, but due to the stress of the times, were laid at their door. Others evidently were true. On the whole, however, it would seem that their conduct was as orderly as could be expected considering the circumstances.

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76. There is no open evidence to substantiate this statement as no white man was convicted in Harrison county during this time for the murder of a negro. However, it seems the natural thing to suppose that if a negro, who could not be frightened into submission, proved himself too obnoxious, means would be found to make way with him.

77. Texas Republican, June 30, 1865.

The white soldiers were replaced in the middle of 1866 by a company of negro troops. This had long been expected and dreaded in this county. Two regiments had previously been sent to Shreveport. The Texas Republican in commenting upon this, said:

Two negro regiments have arrived in Shreveport. Other negro troops are said to be on the way. We trust none of them will be sent to Texas, as we sincerely wish to see peace and good will restored between the sections. Our people have an objection to being governed by negro troops. To send them here, will be to humiliate the citizens, and to make them feel as if there was an intention to degrade them. This is certainly not the object of the government. To send such troops into the interior, while the war was in progress might be justified, but certainly such a course now is at war with sound policy.<sup>78</sup>

These black troops seem to have conducted themselves with even greater propriety than the white soldiers. However, the citizens of the county were glad when in the early part of February, 1867, they were replaced by white troops. The new comers compose Company C of the 20th United States Infantry, and were in charge of Lieutenant William Hawley. These, together with troops from other parts in Texas, were withdrawn in April or May, 1870, and Texas again took over the task of governing itself without the assistance of the troops.

Perhaps the most serious problem which had to be faced in connection with the work of readjustment was that of dealing with the liberated negroes. Three courses were open to the plantation owners of Harrison County at the

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78. Ibid., July 28, 1865.

close of the war. He could drive the negro off his land, and give him liberty to go where he pleased; he could retain him, furnish him with a mule and a few farm implements and rent a piece of land to him on shares; or he could sell him a small farm. To a certain extent, all three methods of procedure were resorted to in Harrison county.

For a time after the surrender, the vast majority of slave owners actuated by an attachment for the race, by a grateful remembrance of past services, and perhaps by a hope that the institutions might still be maintained, continued to support and control their negroes as they had done before the war. It was not long, however, before the military order was issued, which resulted in the release of the negroes. They hardly knew what to do. All their lives, they had been dependent upon their masters for the main essentials of life - food, clothing, and shelter. Most of them, therefore, embraced their new found freedom with joy. Only a few of them realized that freedom carried with it great responsibilities, and asked to remain with their master under the old conditions. Most of the negroes were under the impression that the government meant to furnish each freedman with "forty acres and a mule." In anticipation of this, hundreds of them met the troop train which brought to Marshall its first company of federal soldiers. For some reason the negroes had gotten the impression that the mules would come with the soldiers.

This was their first disappointment, but it was not enough to disillusion them. They still hoped for their "mule and forty acres." This hope was kept alive by shrewd politicians who, for reasons of their own, played upon this ignorance.

Most of the negroes in Harrison County, therefore, when told by their masters that they were free, took them at their word, and left the plantations to drift aimless about in the towns and villages of the county. Vacant houses in the towns, especially in Marshall, became filled with them. These houses, overcrowded to a superlative degree, as might have been expected, became dens of licentiousness. Soon a great many of the negroes were reduced to want, and finally to destitution.

The Freedman's Bureau established at Marshall did what it could to alleviate the condition of the negroes in this county. The main object of this organization seems to have been to protect the ignorant negro from the unscrupulous white man. Prices were fixed to apply where planters retained negroes on their plantations but declined to enter into a contract. Any white man could make a contract in writing with a negro for any consideration agreed upon by the contracting parties. Agents were sent out to the plantations to assist in making contracts. The negroes refused to conform to their contracts made in the presence of the agents, they could be punished.

If they did not behave themselves, they could be ordered off the plantation.<sup>79</sup>

In August 1865, approximately nine hundred freed negroes of Harrison County assembled on a creek near Marshall to consider their rights and duties under the new order. After long and careful deliberation the meeting resolved by a vote of 700 to 100 that they had made practical trial for three months of the freedom which the war had bequeathed them; that its realities were far from being so flattering as their imagination had seemed to indicate; that they had discovered that the prejudices of color were by no means confined to the people of the South; but, on the contrary, it was even more marked against them in the strangers from the North; that negroes, no more than whites, could live without work, or be comfortable without homes; that their northern deliverers had not, as they had been led to expect, undertaken to provide for their happy existence in their new state of freedom; and that their old masters had ceased to take an interest in them or have a care for them; and, finally, that their "last state was worse than the first," and it was their deliberate confession that their true happiness and well-being required them to return to the home which they had abandoned in a moment of excitement, and to go to work again.<sup>80</sup>

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79. Ibid., May 26, 1865.

80. Ibid., September 1, 1865.

After a time, therefore, most of the prodigals returned, either to their old master's plantations, or to some other, and entered into contract with the owners. This contract system did not work in all cases. A great many negroes, especially during the first year, felt at liberty to break their contract at any time they saw fit, and return to the towns, where they indulged in a spree of loafing until they were finally again forced to seek work. Some few stayed and made good. The descendants of these few now own their homes, drive their cars, and have modern conveniences which even the plantation owner in the ante-bellum days did not possess.

It was the vagrant class of negroes that gave the whites trouble. There do not seem to have been any negro riots in the county during the reconstruction period, and very few murders perpetuated by negroes. However, the jails of the county was always full of them for thievery, drunkenness, and other similar offenses. The negro in this county would not have become so intolerable had not the ballot been taken from hundreds of white citizens at the same time that it was bestowed upon him. Normally, the negro was not in the least interested in politics. It made no difference to him whether Jefferson Davis or Andrew Johnson was president of the United States, but he was soon made to believe that it did. Just as the white people of this county were about to solve the problem of labor which

had been brought about by the freedom of the negro, a few self-seeking carpet baggers and scalawags convinced the negroes that their hopes for the future lay in the ballot, and that if they wanted a "mule and forty acres", they must vote them to themselves. While there were excesses committed against the whites, by both the soldiers and the Freedman's Bureau, it does not appear that they had a great deal to do with thus inspiring the negroes. In fact, both agencies strove at all times to keep them orderly.

It is true that the Freedman's Bureau soon assumed the appearance of favoring the negroes as against the whites, and a great many whites resented this, causing them to lay unfounded charges at the door of the Bureau, but it seems that most of such instances were merely a part of the policy maintained by the organization for the purpose of keeping the negroes satisfied. It is easily noticed, that while on every election after their enfranchisement the negroes voted by overwhelming majorities the radical ticket, yet they were so well under the control of the Bureau that there was no disorder. The Texas Republican had the following to say in regard to the Freedman's Bureau:

Col. Thomas Bayley, who has been in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau, at this place for several months, has gone home on a furlough of fifty days. He has discharged his duties with fidelity and impartiality and his course has given general satisfaction. The office is in charge of Lt. Beebee, who, we believe, will pursue

a similar course to that of Col. Bayley. Such officers merit the kind feelings of our citizens and honor the government they represent.<sup>81</sup>

Doubtless there were a few negroes in Harrison County who misinterpreted their freedom. Before the negro had received his freedom he habitually gave way to the whites in all public places such as roads, streets, and buildings. But now some of his advisers began to tell him that if he wished to show his equality with the whites, he should no longer do this. Quite often, therefore, in his zeal to show his equality, he would attempt to occupy the whole of the road or street, thus forcing the whites out of the way. There were not many of this kind and rarely did one ever act this way for any great length of time.

The chief objection of the whites of this county to the negro seems to have been due to his enfranchisement. In such a county as this, where two-thirds of the entire population were negroes, this was tragic. The negro vote controlled Harrison County from 1869 to 1878. Several negroes were allowed by the carpet baggers and scalawags to hold responsible county offices. Of course, this was done merely to hold the negroes in line. Shack Roberts, one of these, represented this district for two terms in the state legislature. While holding this position, he did one thing, among many others, which was illustrative of the negro in politics. There was a small stretch of

81. Texas Republican May 19, 1866.

territory within the boundaries of Harrison County which the people of Marion County wanted. The representative from that county went to Roberts with a map and pointed out the desired territory, saying that it was just a little place, as he could see by looking upon the map. Since Roberts was more adept at estimating the size of a cotton field than a piece of land shown on the map, he reasoned that it looked so small that it could not be more than an acre or two in extent and gave his consent.<sup>82</sup> Thus Harrison County lost several thousand acres of very fertile land. When the white people of the county learned of this alienation of territory, they came near mobbing their representative.<sup>83</sup> Below is given a quotation from H. B. Pemberton which indicates how the educated negro of Harrison County feels today in regard to the reconstruction days:

It is current history that shortly after the emancipation of the negro, many whites from the North came down South to hold office, and to exploit the negro in politics. This was most unfortunate for the negro, for he was used as a tool of these designing politicians. The intrusion of the negro into politics, unlettered as he was, proved his political undoing. Just emancipated from slavery, ignorant, untrained in politics, without any property holdings, put on political equality with the whites, and often incited to lord it over his former masters, all taken together brought down upon him the maledictions of the white people of the South. This exploitation of the negro at this time on the part of the carpet baggers and scalawags was one of the greatest crimes of reconstruction. The negro has suffered and will continue to suffer for many years because of this political blunder on the part of

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82. J. W. Cyphers, County Superintendent of Public Instruction, Marshall, Texas.

83. Potter's Point was a part of this area.

of his "supposedly" Northern friends.<sup>84</sup>

Even after most of those barred under the congressional plan of reconstruction were re-enfranchised, there were still not enough conservative votes in Harrison County to gain control of its political affairs. This was due to an overwhelming negro population. By 1878 the number of negroes in Harrison County had passed 10,000; they could therefore easily outvote the conservative whites on any question. Thus, there was the spectable of all the rest of Texas having been "reconstructed", and affairs back in the hands of the white population, while Harrison and Marion Counties continued to be controlled by the vote of the negro. Something had to be done in these two counties to break this "black" grip. The answer was the organization of the Citizens Party. This party was organized by Jonathan Rudd and twenty nine others.<sup>85</sup> This was not a Democratic party nor was it Republican. All respectable men, irrespective of party who wished to see the political affairs of the county put back upon an honest and efficient basis by the election of conservative whites to the offices, were invited to join this new party. In 1878, this party won its first victory by electing the commissioners court. In

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84. Personal letter from H. B. Pemberton

85. Morning Star, May 1894. W. P. Lane and Major Mienclm were among this number. Candidates for county offices today announce "Subject to the action of the Citizens' Primary", while those for state offices announce "Subject to the action of the Democratic Primary". Harrison And Marion are the only (continued on the following page)

1880 the radicals were completely routed. Even before this time, carpet baggers and scalawags, having read the handwriting upon the wall, had begun to leave. After 1880, there were none left.<sup>86</sup>

The affairs of the county seem to have been rather inefficiently and corruptly administered during the years while it was under the control of the radicals. When these "gentlemen" stepped into power there were \$12,000 in cash in the county treasury <sup>87</sup> and scrip was worth dollar for dollar. When they were driven from office, scrip was worth only ten cents on the dollar, and the county was in debt \$450,000. What this money was spent for has never been known. Doubtless, a great deal of it, due to the inexperience and incompetency of the office holders, was wasted. Other amounts were probably misappropriated. But it was many years before the debts incurred by them could be paid off, and the affairs of the county could be brought back to normal conditions.

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86 (from preceding page  
two counties in the state with such an organization  
There is some talk today of disbanding the Citzens' Party, due to the fact that it has served  
the purpose for which it was organized, but such  
action is not likely to take place until all of  
its organizers are gone.

86. Interview with W. A. Adair, a local historian,  
Marshall, Texas.

87. Morning Star, May, 1894.

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